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## NIMETEENTH CENTURY 1912 G. K. U

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri lands. Bot written by there of the Franco-German economic up by 9, and is entitled Le ess Mines was paralysed from the coup d'Agadir, by M. Pierr, triine des Travaux-Publics was by M. Mermeix, are from the posterior or a railway. The only benefit respective value is, of course, its a sum of 600,000 francs, which André Tardieu, for instance, its rr Renschhausen, and of another as a kind of Mephistopheles or the work done in the harbour of perverting not only France /1 Congo consortium was equally unever since he once crossed inco-German Equatorial railway. It without any doubt, the ab, the French Government was responthree, will therefore be railures. Such was specially the case tion of lies. To this it postium in the Congo. The scheme three writers have writthe of German capital in a large part of crisis from three differered the payment of a considerable comview, and in these circinpany. It was bitterly attacked, in a tion to make a critical several parliamentary groups, mainly by form his own judgmen friends. The French Cabinet did not M. Tardieu's contentions at those attacks, and dropped the scheme he has been able to publish led to believe, for a whole year, that the serious student to check histtled. Under those circumstances it is truth, or rather the approxmans should have thought they were haps, Mr. Morel can boast eady found French diplomacy in their historical truth-appears in uestion, where France stood by Enghas had the patience to peruthe Ouenza affair in Algeria, which has that M. Tardieu, not to speayears owing to parliamentary opposieffort to present the German enfessed, certain good reasons to be

What, then, are the disclosuof the economic side of the 1909

Does Europe still stand out as !

Germany entirely white; on to case have been fully satisfied. equally black, with the possible importance of which cannot be which correspond to the Congo The German Government been John Holt and Co., of Liverpool? the failure of certain Francotion is scarcely interesting enoughtion des Mines, for instance, meeting. But without taking too sernann in its way), but its propaganda, there are two important per. Germany interpreted, public is bound to ask for more light. Trance had bound herself

The first one relates to the immediate in Morocco a kind of sending of the Panther to Agadir. As Engot excepting England,

France, she has a right to know whether all the

such a crisis were on the side of her friend. Was many innocent of the failure of the Franco-German agreen atter Was the expedition to Fez and the French military 1. in Morocco quite unjustified?

The second point is even more important, from a Britis of view. Was Sir Edward Grey, were the members of the an

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nther had gone i-not taking the inte. s go their way, or even, Diplomacy, p. 141) to insist 'on surable with Germany's legal stionable rights?' rst time revealed to the public a new and perhaps decisive

## CRISIS

ain reason for the violent r the Fez expedition was he results of the Franco-That agreement had proxecution of the Algeciras à associer leurs nationaux nt obtenir l'entreprise'; heiple of economic equality 'that the special political were closely bound up with al peace.' In consequence r support to a number of were started not only in ts of Africa. The Union des ie des Travaux-Publics—two ional character, but in which est shares—represented the new hally well established now, by a nister for Foreign Affairs, on the ch Government thought soon after an co-operation to the Congo. The g together the Sud Kamerun Gesellly, the 'N'Goko Sangha,' in order to Asortium, which would end, once for all, ting to the frontiers of the Kamerun and er, at the beginning of 1911, both Governto terms over a railway which would have in Kamerun and the French Congo from the Kamerun as far as the Ubanghi. In short, during s which followed the agreement of February 1909 was supposed to have given up her opposition to the of French political influence in Morocco, and France posed to be ready for any kind of industrial co-operation

ermany in Africa.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri lands. Both rely every one of the Franco-German economic up by a saided as, the progress Mines was paralysed from the progress of substantial conquests, instead of substantial conquests, instead or a railway. The only benefit resemble exasperating defeats a sum of 600,000 francs, which which are beyond the limits or Renschhausen, and of another tion, as understood by the or the work done in the harbour of the enlargement of the a Congo consortium was equally unutmost extent possible. Inco-German Equatorial railway. It to the words of another the French Government was responsively in the case of education, said the prosortium in the Congo. The scheme teach each of us the knot of German capital in a large part of

A few final words sed the payment of a considerable comcontemporary unrest inpany. It was bitterly attacked, in a attention first. I referenceral parliamentary groups, mainly by cause the modern facin friends. The French Cabinet did not of this kind, which is those attacks, and dropped the scheme observe that the richet led to believe, for a whole year, that the here still undergoing acttled. Under those circumstances it is which the poorer are trmans should have thought they were education. They are still ready found French diplomacy in their ences open to them: and uestion, where France stood by Engwill wear itself out; that the Ouenza affair in Algeria, which has become unexciting and convears owing to parliamentary oppositessness may not indeed to healthy activity from which of the economic side of the 1909 disappeared.

rance had been fully satisfied. importance of which cannot be he German Government been the failure of certain Franconion des Mines, for instance, mann in its way), but its er. Germany interpreted,

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## ABOUT CRISIS OF 1911

c one. Not only has man crisis which nearly war, but—what is still ghtful accumulation of articles, contributed by t, though they were in nocking way.

a has not been spared in nome extravagant stories <sup>C</sup>s about several French apparently knew better wehe most curious instance afr. E. D. Morel's recent ject on which he has also Although Mr. Morel's unknown since he ruthlessly dealing with the undoubted his new appearance as a kind y comical order. For now we not only is France a wicked Celf behaved in a shameful way egotiations: Germany alone was sign; she alone stuck to her treaty It of doing anything unfair; in one enter Mr. Morel's diplomatic heaven. nt is bound to impress the public mind tement can be made as to what actually scenes. It is only by setting forth the facts wes that one can prevent reasonable people from wondering er Sir Edward Grey did not really act as he did because is afraid of The Times, or whether M. Caillaux did not make s mind to sell France to Germany. Fortunately the facts are Three books have just been published in Paris

'The National Interest in the Franco-German Dispute,' November 1911, 'The True Story of the Morocco Negotiations,' February 1912.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri lands. Both fely every one of the Franco-German economic up by grailed. The Union des Mines was paralysed from the halanning. The Société Marocaine des Travaux-Publics was never allowed to build either a road or a railway. The only benefit Germany secured took the shape of a sum of 600,000 francs, which was paid by the Maghzen to Herr Renschhausen, and of another sum of 6,000,000 francs, paid for the work done in the harbour of Larache. The Franco-German Congo consortium was equally unsuccessful, and so was the Franco-German Equatorial railway. It would be unfair to deny that the French Government was responsible for a number of those failures. Such was specially the case with the Franco-German consortium in the Congo. The scheme provided for the investment of German capital in a large part of French territory; it included the payment of a considerable compensation to a French company. It was bitterly attacked, in a more or less direct way, by several parliamentary groups, mainly by Mr. E. D. Morel's French friends. The French Cabinet did not feel strong enough to resist those attacks, and dropped the scheme after the Germans had been led to believe, for a whole year, that the matter was satisfactorily settled. Under those circumstances it is not surprising that the Germans should have thought they were being cheated. They had already found French diplomacy in their way in the Bagdad railway question, where France stood by England and Russia, and also in the Ouenza affair in Algeria, which has been at a standstill for many years owing to parliamentary opposition. They had, it must be confessed, certain good reasons to be dissatisfied with the working of the economic side of the 1909 agreement.

They would, however, in no case have been fully satisfied. Here comes in a disclosure, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. Not only has the German Government been equally responsible with France for the failure of certain Franco-German enterprises (such as the Union des Mines, for instance, which found the Brothers Mannesmann in its way), but its general responsibility lies much deeper. Germany interpreted, from the first, the 1909 agreement as if France had bound herself to give to the Franco-German interests in Morocco a kind of monopoly from which every other nation, not excepting England, was to be totally excluded.

This has, of course, to be proved. When France and Germany agreed to 'associate their nationals in affairs for which the latter might obtain a concession,' it was generally understood in France, as in England, that neither country meant to infringe the economic equality established by the Algeciras Act. However, the way in which German diplomacy is used to interpret an arrangement of that sort was soon made clear. On the 2nd of

June 1909, only a few months after the agreement the German Government submitted to M. Guiot, represe, French Government, a memorandum in which it outlined the n Franco-German policy in Morocco which it desired to recommend 2 According to that memorandum all the big undertakings in the Shereefian Empire were to be reserved to certain Franco-German groups. France would be free to open the door to representatives of other nationalities: however, every English or Spanish share in any enterprise was to be inferior to the German one and deducted from the French share. A difficulty arose at that juncture, from Article 107 of the Algeciras Act, which provided that every concession made in Morocco should be made by public awards without differentiating between nationalities. But the German Government thought that Article 107 should not be interpreted in a narrow sense, and it invited the French Government to 'put aside a fruitless and noxious competition,' suppressing the international equality which Germany had pretended to fight for up to 1909 and was going to claim again at the end of 1911. Morocco was to become a Franco-German hunting-ground.

The history of the negotiations which took place at the beginning of 1911 in connexion with the Moroccan railways gives a striking illustration of the practical meaning of the memorandum. It was in February 1911 that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was then M. Pichon, discussed for the first time with Baron von Schoen, German Ambassador in Paris, the construction of several railways in Morocco. The French proposal was that the Société Marocaine des Travaux-Publics should build two lines: Casablanca-Settat and Udjda-Muluya River, which were of a military character and therefore were not to come under the system of public awards. For every extension of those lines the French Government intended to observe Article 107 of the Algeciras Act, and asked the German Government to see that no German firm should compete in that matter with the Société Marocaine. But the German Government made, on the 2nd of March, a counterproposal of quite a different character. It went so far as to ask that, for every possible railway to be constructed later on in Morocco, French as well as German enterprises should abstain from competing with the Société Marocaine. In other words, Germany wanted to create a railway monopoly in favour of one privileged Franco-German company only, to the exclusion of all foreign and, more especially, English interests. England would have had, naturally, to bear the consequences. In fact, it was the British Government which, having been consulted by M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, plainly declared that Germany's proposition amounted to the creation of a Franco-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See M. André Tardieu's Le Mystère d'Agadir, p. 28.

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Such a profound difference of opinion was bound, sooner or later, to lead to a disagreement between the two countries. The situation was hopeless. On one side was Germany. She had only recognised France's special political interest in Morocco in order to try a new policy; instead of standing aloof and opposing French action without any solid profit for herself, she had made up her mind to induce France to break her general undertaking towards England, and she had meant to enter with France upon a joint economic conquest of Morocco. And on the other side was France, who had no reason whatever for shufting out her best friend, England, from Morocco, and who had thought that Germany would be satisfied with a limited and lawful co-operation. However weak M. Pichon was—for he did not dare to reject bluntly, as he ought to have done, Germany's Memorandum of June 1909—the fundamental contradiction between Germany's hopes and France's intentions could not allow a purely superficial concord to last very long.

The Franco-German understanding might still have lasted somewhat longer if, on the other hand, the French Government's action in Morocco had not been rushed by events. Critics of Mr. Morel's turn of mind have not hesitated to accuse French diplomacy of having deliberately violated the famous Algeciras Act, which Germany was apparently respecting in such an edifying manner. There was no need, so they say, to occupy Udjda and the Shawya with French troops; the siege of Fez was a mere pretence; France had pledged herself to respect the integrity of Morocco and the sovereignty of the Sultan; she had no right to intervene. The same set of people would very likely recommend that England should evacuate Egypt in order to restore there what might be called lawful anarchy. French opinion, indeed, is ready to acknowledge that France might have done better in Morocco: that by reinforcing in time the French military mission in Fez, or by raising, under her own guarantee, a large loan for the Shereefian treasury, she might have enabled the Sultan to fight in a more efficient way the insurgent tribes which nearly overthrew him in the spring of 1911.3 But half measures of that kind would have done nothing but postpone a crisis which was bound to come, if only because the Moorish Government was rotten to the core and was quite unable to reform itself from within. At any rate, the position was becoming each year more critical. It culminated in

3 See M. André Tardieu, op. cit. Part I. chap. ii.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri the siege of Fez, the seriousness of which cannot L reading the confidential reports which have just come The most convincing is perhaps Commandant Brémond's rep dated the 24th of July 1911, which is a mere statement of facts. It shows, among other details, that the Shereefian army had, after the 11th of May (the siege lasted until the 21st), only enough artillery ammunition left for two engagements. The number of deserters was increasing from day to day. The remaining soldiers were plotting to assassinate their French instructors and to capture the foreign consuls. On the 19th of May 'the instructors had to keep apart from each other in order to make their simultaneous assassination more difficult.' We know from recent events that this was not an imaginary danger.

Faced by such a recurrent state of things France had to perform a difficult task. There was, first, the Algeciras Act, which did not expressly prevent her from intervening in the internal affairs of the Moroccan Empire; which even recognised her special interest by giving her a free hand on the Algerian border, and by entrusting to her officers the main share in policing the harbours; which, however, declined to give her the means of establishing order inside Morocco, thus withholding with one hand the very thing it was offering with the other. In the second place, France had assumed, in 1904 with regard to England, in 1909 with regard to Germany, not to mention other countries, a kind of moral responsibility as protector of European lives and interests in Morocco. In the third place, the Sultan was more frightened than anybody else, and was clamouring for help. The inevitable result of such a false situation was easy to foresee. Willing or not, France was to be dragged in. As a matter of fact, her decisive intervention—the expedition to Fez-was decided by men who had a marked preference for international methods as opposed to a policy of a protectorate.

But the rupture with Germany was, therefore, the more threatening. The economic condominium, which the German Government had tried to establish in Morocco after 1909, had fallen to pieces before it had ever worked, owing to the resistance of France, backed up in the matter by England. The political ascendancy of France over Morocco was, per contra, fostered by the events themselves. Germany was disappointed in a twofold way. Hence the crisis. Had French diplomacy been as subtle as Mr. Morel thinks it to be, it would have perhaps avoided the noisy demonstration of Agadir by meeting Germany halfway, and offering to negotiate again over Morocco as soon as the French troops started for Fez. This was at one time the writer's view, and subsequent events have shown that such a course would have been wiser. However, this lack of foresight does not in

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ENGLAND AND THE NEGOTIATIONS

The acuteness of the crisis has been, nevertheless, ascribed by the British admirers of Germany to the selfish intervention of the British Government at the beginning of the negotiations, from the 21st to the 27th of July. According to Mr. Morel, Sir Edward Grey's warning to the German Ambassador and Mr. Lloyd George's speech were useless, for Germany never nourished any dark designs in regard to Morocco. Moreover, the action taken by the British Foreign Office was utterly wicked; France and Germany were both prepared to settle their differences in a friendly tête-à-tête,4 and it was through fear of such a result that The Times began pouring oil on the fire. Neither is this all: Mr. Morel's contention is that Sir Edward Grey, frightened, of course, by The Times, made the French case, which was already intrinsically bad, even worse by encouraging the French Government to overlook Germany's unquestionable rights in Morocco. Never was a more violent accusation made against 'perfidious Albion' even by the most bitter enemy of England, at the time when Pitt's money was commonly supposed, in France, to be corrupting the whole of Europe.

Now the facts speak for themselves. Sir Edward Grey's action is not only fully justified by the diplomatic events which preceded it, but also by the subsequent development of the Franco-German

negotiations.

It is already well known that when Sir Edward Grey gave the German Ambassador to understand, on the 21st of July, that England would not permit Germany to obtain a footing in Morocco, no assurance had yet been given by Germany to England that she would not land troops in Agadir, where the Panther had arrived on the 1st of July. Did Sir Edward Grey yield to a mere movement of impatience? Is it true that he had no right to suspect Germany's intentions? The Press campaign which was just starting in Germany points to the contrary. On the 13th of July -nine days after Sir Edward Grey's first and vague interview with the German Ambassador, and a week before Mr. Lloyd George's speech—the Cologne Gazette suggested that a partition of Morocco between France and Germany might be a way out of the difficulty. The idea was by no means a new one, for since

<sup>4</sup> M. Caillaux has been represented by Mr. Morel and others as having contemplated a complete reconciliation between France and Germany at the expense of the Entente Cordiale. Such an amazing statement is sufficiently refuted by M. A. Tardieu and M. Mermeix, and is not even upheld by M. Pierre Albin, who is personally hostile to M. Caillaux.

1904 the pan-German and German Coloniar repeatedly claimed a part of the Moroccan coast, and Agadir, for their country. The Mannesmann Brothers moreover, making a great fuss about Germany's interests in the hinterland of Agadir. The Cologne Gazette's suggestion was at once taken up by the whole Pan-German Press. The Braunschweigische Landeszeitung said, for instance:

THE AVERTON PROSE

Herr von Kiderlen has awakened and enlivened our hopes. We share almost entirely the pangermanistic point of view. He has told us that, although the Kaiser has only recommended him to find an honourable solution, he will persist in claiming part of the south-west of Morocco.<sup>5</sup>

There was also a rumour in Berlin—the Post made it widely known—that Herr von Kiderlen and his secretary, Herr Heilbronn, had, in the course of several conversations (among others with Herr Erzberger, member of the Reichstag, Herrn Klaas and Rippler, of the pan-German League), indicated that they intended to find in the Suss (the hinterland of Agadir) Germany's share of Morocco. In a country like the German Empire, where the most violent papers are often in the hands of the Government at the very moment when they appear to be following an independent line, such utterances were to be taken seriously, the more so that the German Ambassador in London did not think it necessary to make any plain and reassuring statement.

But the German Press campaign was not all. The information which Sir Edward Grev received, not from The Times, but through M. Paul Cambon in London, and Sir Francis Bertie in Paris, gave him the best reasons to fear that the Franco-German negotiations, which had lasted for three weeks, were entering a critical phase. The beginning of the negotiations had not been especially alarming. As soon as the Panther arrived at Agadir the French Government had informed the British and Russian Governments that France would in no case abandon anything in Morocco, and that she was waiting for Germany to say what she wanted. To this the British Government had assented officially on the 5th of July. Two days after, Herr von Schoen told M. de Selves that Germany did not ask for territorial compensations in Morocco, but that both countries might come to terms over the This was telegraphed to Sir Edward Grey, who replied the same day that Great Britain did not object to compensations being granted to Germany in Equatorial Africa. Lastly, on the 9th of July Herr von Kiderlen roughly indicated to the French Ambassador in Berlin, M. Jules Cambon, that Germany was prepared to renounce completely her claims in Morocco if she received important colonial compensations elsewhere—in the Congo, for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See also other quotations from newspapers in M. Tardieu's op. cit., p. 429.

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lands. Bot This sounded somewhat reassuring for British interests, up by second had never wished to oppose a Franco-German arrange-hallent over the Congo; the only thing she could not admit—for obvious reasons—was that Germany should get a footing in any part of North Africa.

The Franco-German diplomatic conversations, however, almost immediately took a bad turn. First as to Morocco. Asked on the 13th of July what sort of régime Germany was prepared to recognise in Morocco, Herr von Kiderlen answered that she would simply grant France 'sufficient authority to preserve Morocco from anarchy.' Such a vague formula was rather alarming, for it amounted to the same offer as in 1909, and left the same door open to further difficulties with Germany-difficulties of exactly the same kind as those which had caused the clash in 1911. France was to grant important compensations in the Congo, she ought to receive in exchange a full protectorate over Morocco, and to get rid of the misunderstanding underlying the 1909 agreement. At the same time, while going back on his Moroccan promises, Herr von Kiderlen put forward an utterly unacceptable scheme, according to which France was to hand over to Germany the whole of the French Congo from the river Sangha to the sea.

The extent of the German demands was made known on the 20th of July, by M. Paul Cambon and Sir Francis Bertie, to Sir Edward Grey. It is not surprising that the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs should have wondered what Germany was driving at. Perhaps she was contemplating a rupture. More probably she was only pushing her claims with regard to the Congo in order to ask for some territory on the Moroccan coast. At any rate, the question was worth asking. What the answer was, on the 21st of July, is known precisely from the best German source, the evidence submitted to the Committee of the Reichstag. The German Ambassador made a long, obscure declaration, in which he not only avoided giving any positive assurance as far as the landing in Agadir was concerned, but rather bitterly complained about England's attitude. Certain phrases of the declaration had even a threatening tone:

If our proposals on the Congo are, as you say, unacceptable [said the Ambassador], this proves that France attaches less importance than is generally supposed to the free exercise in Morocco of pretensions which have never been made the object of an international decision. She must then agree, as well, that a foreign warship may enter a Moroccan harbour.

The end of the declaration is even more disquieting:

If you care so much for the integrity of the Moroccan territory, why don't you, first of all, ask France for explanations? The occupation of the

<sup>6</sup> The italics are my own.

Shawya, and the invasion of the whole interior of Morocco by army, amount, much more than the recent German action, to a interference in Moroccan affairs.

After the Press campaign started on the 13th of July, after the sudden change for the worse of the Franco-German conversations, such an answer could only lead Sir Edward Grey to think that something ought to be done in order to make Germany understand that she could not touch Morocco without injuring British interests. Hence Mr. Lloyd George's speech. The result was attained on the 24th of July, when the German Ambassador emphatically declared that no landing had taken place in Agadir and that Germany had never intended to create there a naval base. How useful British interference had been, not only to England, but to France, is clearly pointed out by M. André Tardieu:

The first consequence [he writes] of the Anglo-German incident was that the German Government had evidently pledged itself to England not to seek for territorial advantages in Morocco. If one thinks of the uncertainty which prevailed in that respect, of the contradictory statements which had appeared in the German Press, of the utterances ascribed to Herr von Kiderlen, such a result had a real value. A real value first for England, who in 1911, as in 1904, did not admit the possibility of a German establishment in the Shereefian Empire; a real value also for France, whose interest in the matter was not less evident than that of Great Britain.

If any further proof should be deemed necessary of the wisdom Great Britain displayed when she interfered in the Franco-German dispute, it would be found in the difficulties which arose during the last stage of the negotiations. Some of Mr. Morel's main contentions are that the German Government has shown throughout an absolute straightforwardness; that it never made any objection to the establishment of a French protectorate over Morocco; that it defended Europe's interests in the Congo question against French selfishness; that Great Britain behaved, therefore, wrongfully when she showed the least suspicion of the German Government's intentions. Now it is true enough that Herr von Kiderlen expressed his willingness to let France be master of Morocco. But when he was asked in September to assent to a written definition of the régime which was to be set up in Morocco, then, with characteristic rapidity, he invented a score of new proposals. First of all, France was to have only a limited political control over Morocco; she was to occupy the interior of the country solely with the Sultan's consent; she was not to be entrusted with diplomatic representation of Morocco abroad, but only to be informed by Germany of all the diplomatic arrangements which might be made between the German and the Shereefian Governments. In the second place, Germany asked for a number of economic privileges. She was to be the dominant Digitized by Mr. Samaifformation Channel Was Gameth down to the lands. Both order of the Suss: in that part of Morocco every enterup by would have to be 70 per cent. German and 30 per cent. The rench; that proportion would be reversed north of the Tensift. Thus, after promising to be satisfied with the principle of mere economic equality in Morocco, if she only received proper territorial compensation elsewhere, Germany tried, as she had done in 1909, to create again for her own benefit an economic condominium equally distasteful to Europe and to France. It took M. Jules Cambon over one month—from the 4th of September to the 14th of October—to get from Herr von Kiderlen terms which,

though not perfect, were at least more satisfactory.

Surprises of the same kind occurred during the negotiations relating to the Congo. On the 23rd of July Herr von Kiderlen had agreed with M. Jules Cambon that the right of pre-emption which France had possessed since 1884 over the Belgian Congo should in no way enter into the Franco-German negotiations. Nevertheless, at the very end of those negotiations, on the 26th of October, Germany suddenly asked that France should abandon that right in favour of Germany.7 When the French Ambassador reminded the German Secretary of State that he had promised not to make such a demand, Herr von Kiderlen answered that he had changed his mind, as the compensations offered by France were so ridiculously small. To grant such a demand would have been as unlawful as dishonourable, for the right France possesses over the Belgian Congo cannot be transferred to another Power without Belgium's consent, and, on the other hand, such a cession would have been as dangerous for British interests as for France herself. The way out was found by the Russian Government, which suggested that both Powers should agree that, in case a territorial change should occur in the Conventional Congo basin, the signatory Powers to the Act of Berlin should have a word to say in the matter. That formula was submitted on the 30th of October by the French Government to the British, which approved of it. It was accepted by Herr von Kiderlen on the 1st of November, three days before the treaty was signed. Up to the very last moment Germany had driven such a hard bargain that a rupture was still possible, if not probable.

It would be foolish to deduce from all this that Germany must be severely blamed for the method she applied, either in the interpretation of the 1909 agreement or in the discussion of the treaty of last year. That method is always and everywhere the same. It consists in changing the principles each time they clash with the interests. Thus Germany stood for economic equality in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> That demand is construed by Mr. Morel to mean that Germany was afraid lest France might injure Europe by stealing the Belgian Congo for herself and her friends. (See *Morocco in Diplomacy*, p. 194.)

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Morocco as long as she had no particular agreement
After February 1909 she tried to break that economic
for her own benefit, and to drag France into a kind of comminium. Then again, during the summer and autumn of last
year, she did her best to obtain for herself some important
economic privileges in Morocco, and she returned later on to the
policy of the open door only because she could not get a privileged
treatment. The same variety of points of view can be observed
in every detail of her action. According to circumstances, she
would protest that she did not object in the least to French preponderance in Morocco, and would at the same time refuse to
recognise the lawfulness of that preponderance. These change-

and practical conception of German interests. It would be as childish to call this an immoral diplomacy as it is to apply that flattering qualification to the diplomacy either of France or of

able tactics have been often termed scornfully: Deutsche Realpolitik. As a matter of fact they amount simply to a very strong

England.

At the same time, however, the history of the past three years affords the best possible justification of the cautiousness shown by England, as well as by France, in their relations with It can no longer be disputed that, whenever the German Government signs a general diplomatic agreement, it does its best afterwards to carry the interpretation of such an agreement to the extreme point which corresponds to Germany's narrowest interest. It appears equally clear in the light of the facts that a diplomatic negotiation with Germany is never a safe one, and that the ground you may have gained on a German negotiator may be lost the moment after he has acknowledged For these reasons it is by no means absurd to fancy what might have happened had Sir Edward Grey supported France less firmly. The German demands might have been driven up to a point where French opinion, which backed up its Government very strongly during the last stage of the dispute, would have preferred the risks of a great war rather than an unfair settlement. A German landing in Agadir would have very likely precipitated a catastrophe of that kind. By expressing, at the most critical moment, England's will, not only to stand by France, but before all to defend British interests in Morocco, Sir Edward Grey has certainly done more to strengthen the peace of Europe than if he had listened to the peace-crank open-air preachers who are trying to ruin England for the benefit of humanity, even as the French unified Socialists are doing their best to kill their own country in the name of democratic principles. The crisis of 1911 is worth meditating over in that respect. It contains a lesson for the future.

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## THE FAILURE OF POST-BISMARCKIAN GERMANY

THE rise of Prusso-Germany from insignificance to greatness has been meteoric. Two hundred years ago Frederick the First, the first King of Prussia, ruled over 1,500,000 people; and Berlin, his capital, had only 20,000 inhabitants when, in 1688, he succeeded his father. The country was scarcely civilised and very poor. Prussia held then a position in the world not dissimilar from that occupied now by Servia or Bulgaria. To-day the King of Prussia is at the same time Emperor of Germany. He rules over 66,000,000 people and Greater Berlin has a population of about 4,000,000. Since 1871, when the German Empire was founded, Germany's population has increased by 25,000,000, and that of Berlin has nearly quadrupled. In 1871 Germany was a poor agricultural country. To-day Germany is the leading industrial, commercial and maritime State on the Continent, and the richest nation in Europe, for her wealth is greater than that of France and of Great Britain. She has successfully challenged Great Britain's industrial supremacy—her industrial production is greater than ours—and she is now challenging our maritime supremacy as well. In a very few years she will have twenty-four Dreadnoughts and super-Dreadnoughts permanently in commission in the North Sea. Her political, military and economic progress appears irresistible.

The success of a nation depends upon the people, its rulers, and its institutions. In democratic countries the people are the most important of these three factors. The policy of the United States, Great Britain, France, is made by public opinion, by the ideals, the instincts, and the desires of the masses, sentiments which through public discussion have crystallised into a definite national policy. In democracies the nation rules, the government carries out the popular will, and the statesmen are merely the mouthpieces of the people. In monarchical countries, such as Germany or Russia, the process is reversed. The monarch is the source of all power. He governs with the assistance of

his councillors, and he, or his principal adviser, who a monarch's name, lays down the national policy, which is count by his officials, and the people are expected to support and

applaud him.

Since the dawn of her history Prusso-Germany has been under one-man rule. Her greatness and success are not so much due to the great qualities of the people as to the genius and the activity of her rulers and statesmen. The Great Elector. Frederick William the First, Frederick the Great, Stein. William the First, Bismarck, have made modern Germany. The rapid changes in the fortunes of Prusso-Germany show how much her successes and her failures have been due to the personal qualities of her rulers. Frederick the Great, who had successfully fought the combined armies of Austria, the minor German States, France, Russia and Sweden, died in 1786. At the King's death Prussia was considered to be by far the strongest nation on the Continent. His two successors were men without ability who merely preserved the old form and routine of government. In 1806, only twenty years after the death of Frederick the Great, the same Prussia which had defeated the world in arms during seven years of incessant war was knocked down at one blow and cut up by Napoleon the First. It had fallen like a rotten tree at the first blast. The strength of democratic nations depends chiefly on the people, that of highly centralised monarchies depends very largely on their rulers. Many think that the Germany of to-day is still the Germany of the heroic age, of William the First and of Bismarck; but may not her strength be over-rated? Frederick the Great had no successor able to Has Bismarck found a worthy successor take his place. or can Germany now be governed without a Minister of Bismarckian ability?

Germany's form of government is laid down in a written Constitution. According to paragraph eighteen of that document, the Emperor nominates and dismisses the Imperial officials, and these are responsible only to the Emperor. Parliamentary control of the Government does not exist. A German Secretary of State who is incapable or is obnoxious to Parliament may continue in office as long as he enjoys the Emperor's support. He can afford to smile at hostile majorities and at votes of censure of the Reichstag. His salary does not depend upon a parliamentary vote, and as the Reichstag's control over the finances is quite ineffective—according to the Constitution it is doubtful whether Parliament may repeal taxes which have once been voted—it cannot effectively use the power of the purse against an incompetent Chancellor or Secretary of State. The German

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lands. Both the Emperor's servants, not the nation's servants. up by a erefore, clear that the high officials in Germany are halvely as dependent on the support of the Emperor, who at Will can make and unmake ministers, as British Cabinet Ministers are dependent on the support of Parliament. Therefore, German Ministers are as anxious to carry out the Emperor's will as British Ministers are to carry out the people's will and Parliament's will.

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The Government of Germany is not conducted by a Cabinet of Ministers of equal rank, but by a single Minister, the Imperial Chancellor. He alone is responsible for the conduct of all the Imperial departments. The heads of all the departments are responsible to him, and are his subordinates. An incapable British Prime Minister has little power for mischief. He may be guided or out-voted by his colleagues at a Cabinet Council. But a German Chancellor has no colleagues to guide and out-vote him. He has only subordinates. The joint responsibility of a British Cabinet is replaced in Germany by the joint responsibility of Emperor and Chancellor, and if a masterful Emperor gives the Chancellorship to a man of little backbone—and he can appoint whom he likes-he rules and his Chancellor becomes his secretary, his clerk, his mouthpiece. As Germany's policy is not directed by the collective wisdom of a Cabinet, but by a Chancellor who is appointed by the Emperor to whom alone he is responsible, Germany can be efficiently governed only if the Emperor and his Chancellor are men of eminence who are as well fitted for their posts as were William the First and Bismarck, for Emperor and Chancellor must work hand in hand.

Bismarck has had four successors: an able general; an outworn diplomat who became Chancellor at the age of seventy-five; a sprightly courtier-diplomat endowed with great social gifts; and an industrious bureaucrat without experience of practical statesmanship who occupies Bismarck's place at the present moment. When in the spring of 1892 Bismarck was informed that General von Caprivi intended to resign, he said, according to Harden: 'I am not pleased with the news. At least he was a general. Who will come next? That is the question. If you get for Chancellor a Prussian bureaucrat who has learned his trade solely at his desk, then you will see things happening which at present seem impossible.' Governmentalism kills individualism. Bismarck did not rise from the ranks of officialdom. He was an outsider and he believed that the well-diciplined, conscientious, and hard-working Prussian officials, who are slaves to precedent and routine, had not sufficient individuality and breadth of view for independent action.

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Constitutionally Germany is, as Americans we one man show.' Unfortunately for Germany, as Bismarck's successors has been able to take Bismarck's place nor has the Emperor been able to supply the ability which his four Chancellors lacked. William the Second is too versatile and too much dilettante to take seriously to the hard work and dull daily grind of government.

The German Government machine is the most elaborate in the world. It was devised and perfected by some of the greatest administrators the world has seen. Germany's official organisation is perhaps as imposing as ever, and the minor officials, with whom the public comes most in contact, are perhaps as good as they were in former days, but the machine itself is becoming rapidly out of date. Its wheels still go round as of old, but as some of the principal ones are getting badly worn, the machine is becoming more and more erratic in its running, and, worst of all, the absence of a capable controlling hand becomes more and more noticeable.

Of all the great departments of State the Foreign Office is the one which is most in need of able direction. It is most susceptible to controlling influences, to which it answers readily. It is the department where lack of statesmanlike capacity tells soonest. All the other Government departments may be run for a long time without glaringly palpable ill results. Not so the Foreign Office. Here routine and the little arts of underlings are of very little use, and incapacity on the part of the chief is rapidly translated into failure. As Germany is under one-man rule, we can measure the efficiency of her Government in its general activity most easily by the success or non-success of its Foreign Office, and if we apply the Foreign Office test we find that the post-Bismarckian Government of Germany has been a failure. In Bismarck's time Germany's foreign policy was universally and triumphantly successful. Since that time it has been practically universally unsuccessful, and has marched from failure to failure. By rashly interfering with many Powers in all parts of the world, Germany has estranged her old friends and has created for herself new enemies. Her failures are too numerous to count, and her successes too few and too small to mention.

In matters of foreign policy praise or blame must be meted out according to results. At the time of Bismarck's dismissal, the Triple Alliance was a solid and reliable partnership, and as France on one side of Germany, Russia on another, and Great Britain on a third were isolated, Germany's position in the world was absolutely secure. She dominated the Continent. Bismarck's principle was 'Divide et Impera.' He succeeded in keeping France and Russia apart. To weaken France, he

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri lands. Both Great Britain against one another by encouraging Monial and anti-British policy. To weaken Russia up by a leased the differences between her and Great Britain by half-couraging Russia's Turkish and Asiatic aims. Great Britain, being threatened by France and Russia, naturally inclined towards Germany, and was Germany's potential ally.

Fear begets unity. At the Berlin Congress, Bismarck had set Russia against Austria-Hungary by depriving Russia of the fruits of her victory, and by giving Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria. At the same time he had given to France Tunis, upon which Italy had the strongest claim. Thus he had created hostility between Italy and France. Austria-Hungary, being threatened by Russia, and Italy by France, desired Germany's protection. The Triple Alliance became a logical necessity. As the Triple Alliance was founded upon Austria's fear of Russia and Italy's fear of France, an improvement of Franco-Italian relations and of Russo-Austrian relations was bound to weaken it greatly. As, since Bismarck's dismissal, Italy and France have become fast friends, and Austria and Russia have arrived at good terms, Germany can no longer be quite sure of her allies. count upon Italy's support only in the event that Italy finds it profitable to support her. Italy has very long and extremely vulnerable coast lines. Besides she has great colonial ambitions. Therefore, it would be suicidal for her to pursue an anti-British policy or to help Germany in such a policy. Bismarck attached the greatest value to Great Britain's goodwill and In the first place he saw in her a 'potential ally' in case of a war with France and Russia. This will be seen from his speeches in the Reichstag and other pronouncements. In the second place, he recognised that Italy would be compelled to desert Germany if a situation should arise which might entail war with the greatest sea Power. For these reasons the maintenance of good relations with Great Britain was one of the principal aims of Bismarck's foreign policy.

By pursuing an anti-British policy, Germany has not only driven Great Britain from Germany's side and has driven her into the arms of France and Russia, but she has at the same time greatly weakened the formerly reliable Triple Alliance. Few Germans believe that Germany can count on Italy's support in the hour of need. Thus Germany has simultaneously created the Triple Entente and weakened, if not destroyed, the Triple Alliance. It is true the Triple Alliance exists still-However, Italy would not think of supporting Germany in a war against France, and still less in a war against Great Britain or against Great Britain and France combined.

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On this point the Hanoverscher Anzeiger wrote January 1912:

The people must ask themselves: What is the reason for artific prolonging the life of the Triple Alliance which has been doomed for a long time? With every prolongation, which has been effected with the greatest difficulty, that alliance has become more frail and more rotten, so that everybody is firmly convinced that it will not stand the strain of necessity. A German staff officer who would base his plan of campaign upon the assumption of Italy's support in case of a French attack upon Germany, would have every reason to anticipate dismissal for incapacity; and so would an Austrian strategist if he should reckon upon Italian support. This is generally known, and cannot be denied by professional diplomats. As at the commencement of a great war nothing is more dangerous than to allow oneself to be deceived, it would be better to see matters as they really are.

Few intelligent Germans reckon upon Italy's support. Most think that in a great European war Italy will either remain neutral or will be found on the side of Germany's enemies.

Austria's support has become less certain in consequence of Germany's isolation, and of the great risks which she insists apon running by her adventurous policy. It should not be forgotten that Austria-Hungary has many old grudges against Prusso-Germany, who has despoiled her from the time of Frederick the Great to that of William the First. Therefore it seems questionable whether Austria would, for Germany's sake, readily run the risk of a great defeat, a defeat which might result in her annihilation. Austria may, instead, try to reconquer, at Germany's cost, the leading position among the Germanic nations which she used to occupy. The States of Southern Germany are more Austrian than German in character, and these might come again under the sway of Vienna.

Germany has complained that she has been isolated and hedged about with a network of hostile alliances and understandings owing to British intrigues. In reality Germany has been isolated owing to the incapacity of her own Government,

and especially owing to its anti-British policy.

A nation can safely embark upon a bold and costly transmaritime policy only if it is secure on land, if it either occupies an island, like Great Britain and Japan, or if it occupies an isolated position and cannot be invaded by its neighbours, like the United States. Germany has three great land Powers for neighbours. Two of them, France and Russia, are not friendly to Germany, and she cannot rely with absolute certainty upon the support of her third neighbour, Austria-Hungary, a fact of which Bismarck warned her in his Memoirs. Under these circumstances it is obvious that Germany's greatest need is not expansion oversea, but defence on land; that her greatest in-

lands. Bottst on the sea but on terra firma. Self-preservation up by as important than glory. The Emperor has started halfmany on her 'new course,' on the trans-maritime course, which broke up the Triple Alliance, created the Triple Entente, and threatens Germany's future. His picturesque dictum, 'Germany's future lies upon the water,' could appear logical only to these who forgot Germany's position on land. It has, of course, become the watchword of the German officials whom the Emperor has appointed-he would appoint no Chancellor opposed to his naval policy-and so Germany is throwing away the substance for the shadow.

Bismarck was constantly haunted by the thought of the formation of a great European coalition against Germany. This will be seen from his Memoirs, and from many of his letters and conversations. Bismarck's worst fear may be realised before long. Germany's post-Bismarckian diplomacy is doing its best to destroy the work of the great Chancellor. It has already destroyed Germany's security on the Continent. Yet there is no sign that the 'new course' will be abandoned. twenty-two years of post-Bismarckian government German diplomacy has achieved nothing tangible, except failure. incessant and neurotic activity in all parts of the world has given to Germany a few worthless colonial possessions, but it should not be forgotten that the bulk of her colonies were

peacefully acquired by Bismarck.

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The same hand which has directed Germany's foreign policy with such marked lack of foresight and ability has directed her military and naval policy as well. For geographical reasons Germany's strategical position is precarious. Situated between France and Russia, she must be able to protect herself against an almost simultaneous attack upon her eastern and her western Neither France nor Russia is similarly situated. France need protect only her eastern, and Russia her western, frontier against invasion. Therefore, the problem of mobilisation and defence is far more difficult for Germany than for her great neighbours. In view of the possibility that at the critical moment Austria might not aid Germany, Bismarck wished Germany to be so strong as to be able to hold her own singlehanded against France and Russia combined. This will be seen from his speeches. Therefore he worked for the steady expansion of the army and neglected the navy. But in matters of defence Bismarck's policy has been thrown to the winds. Guided by the maxim 'Germany's future lies upon the water,' the leaders of the 'new course' have been so anxious to strengthen the navy that the German Army has been neglected both quantitatively and qualitatively. The following their own tale:---

			1	Expenditure on the German Army Marks	Expenditure on the German Navy Marks
1901				677,932,000	194,892,000
1902				669,180,000	205,356,000
1903				659,970,000	212,628,000
1904				647,078,000	206,555,000
1905				697,126,000	231,483,000
1906	,	14		752,640,000	245,473,000
1907	1			806,831,000	290,883,000
1908				827,459,000	337,708,000
1909				854,784,000	405,568,000
1910				807,223,000	434,045,000

During the ten years 1901-1910 the naval expenditure of Germany has increased by more than 120 per cent. During the same period the expenditure on the army has increased by only 20 per cent. From 1901-1904 and from 1909-1910 the German military expenditure decreased. For Germany, which borders upon three great Powers, and which may conceivably be attacked simultaneously on several sides by a combination of Powers, the army is evidently a more important means of defence than the navy, for by sea no vital part of Germany can be touched. It appears, therefore, that Germany's expenditure on the navy has been comparatively extravagant, and that on her army scarcely sufficient. That impression is strengthened if we compare the rank and file of Germany's military and naval forces, for such a comparison yields the following results:—

			Rank and File of German Army	Rank and File of German Navy
1901			. 604,168	31,171
1902			. 605,811	33,563
1903			. 605,975	35,768
1904			. 606,872	38,406
1905			. 609,758	40,862
1906			. 614,353	43,328
1907			. 616,838	46,747
1908			. 619,040	50,323
1909			. 621,112	57,068
1910			. 622,285	62,013

According to the German Constitution every German citizen able to bear arms has to bear arms. Germany's population came in 1900 to 56,367,178 people. In 1910 it was 64,896,881 people, having increased by a little more than 8,500,000. It used to be the rule in Germany that a fixed proportion of the population, about 1.1 per cent., belonged to the standing army. That was the proportion in 1901, as a glance at the foregoing table shows. Between 1901 and 1910 the German Army ought to have been increased, in the normal course, by about 93,000

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri lands. Both equal to 1.1 per cent. on the 8,500,000 people by up by a people of population has increased. But instead of adding halo of men to the standing army, Germany has added to it only 18,000, or but one-fifth of the normal number.

The German authorities tried to economise on the army by keeping its strength low. For instance, recently Germany raised a large number of companies armed with machine guns, partly by taking the necessary men from the infantry, and partly by reducing the horse artillery, losing thus twenty batteries. The reduction of the infantry, and especially of the artillery, has been

much deplored by German military men.

How great the neglect of the German Army has been, and how insufficient is its strength, can be shown to any layman. The German race is at least as able to bear arms as the French race. Germany has a population of 66,000,000, France has a population of only 38,000,000. From these figures one might conclude that Germany should have a standing army at least 50 per cent. larger than that of France. However, a glance at the reference books shows that the standing armies of France and Germany are very nearly equally strong. This surprising result is easy to explain. The French train in the army all mea able to bear arms, whilst the Germans train only two-thirds of the men able to bear arms and dismiss the remaining third for the sake of economy, spending the money saved on the navy.

Many leading Germans have become alarmed at the neglect of the Germany Army, and especially at the insufficiency of its numbers, a defect which is particularly dangerous in view of Germany's isolation. General von Bernhardi wrote in Mittler's Almanach: 'Of our young men of twenty years we put, in 1909, only 52.7 per cent. into the army, although of the 47.3 per cent. rejected only 6.54 per cent. were physically or morally unfit. Therefore Germany rejected 47.3 per cent. of her young men. How different is the action of France! France recruited in 1908 81.19 per cent. of her young men. Of the remaining 18.81 per cent. 10.31 per cent. were unfit for military duty.' He complained that universal national service had fallen in disuse, although it is enjoined by the German Constitution. Major-General von Voss complained in the same book: 'France is the only country in the world which has introduced a system of real national In 1909 France put into the army 247,255 recruits, whilst Germany put in only 267,283, although the population of Germany is by 25,000,000 larger than that of France.' In Der Tag of the 10th of January 1912 General von Loebell complained that Germany raised only forty-four recruits per 10,000 of population, whilst France raised no less than sixty-three recruits per 10,000 of population. A leading article in Die Post of the

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9th of January 1912 complained that the German Anumbers, commensurate to a nation of 45,000,000 peol not of 65,000,000. Many of the leading men in Germany has become so alarmed at the neglect of the army, and at the Government's unwillingness to strengthen it sufficiently, that, on the model of the German Navy League, a great Army League, the Wehrverein, has been founded, which is intended to force the Government to increase the army very greatly, by means of a great popular agitation. In consequence of this influential agitation, the Government was forced to act, and in the middle of April the German Government demanded an increase of 29,000 men in the peace strength of the army. The greatness of this sudden increase shows how much the army has been neglected.

Not only quantitatively but qualitatively as well has the German Army suffered during the 'new course.' German generals complain that promotions are made less by merit and more by favour than in former times. Similar complaints are heard in most Government offices. They complain that the officers are no longer as good as they used to be. Owing to the rise in wages the German Army can no longer obtain a sufficient number of good non-commissioned officers. The German war material also is scarcely up to date. The military outfit of France is superior to that of Germany. According to Lieutenant-Colonel Beyel, of the French artillery, and many other experts, the German artillery is inferior to the French. The tactics of the German Army have become antiquated. According to various German writers Germany has failed to learn the lessons of the Boer war and of the Russo-Japanese war. Major Hoppenstedt published in 1910 a book, Sind wir Kriegsfertig? in which he showed that the German Army is too much occupied with barracks-square drill and too little with warlike training. Many officers attribute the neglect of the army to the influence of the Emperor, who is severely criticised. William the First was a soldier by nature. The army was his principal interest. He did not understand the navy. tolerated no flatterers, and knew no favouritism. He worked incessantly on the improvement of the army. William the Second has made the navy his hobby, and attends to the army perfunctorily, and many say that it is little better managed than his Foreign Office.

In 1911, during the time of the Morocco crisis, the German Government was very politely, but very firmly, informed by the Russian Government that a German attack upon France would immediately lead to a Russian attack upon Germany, while the language of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George left no doubt in Germany's mind regarding the attitude of Great Britain. As, in such a contingency, the support of Austria-Hungary would

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Germany's parallely and same foundation chemical and egangett additional reasons for reconsidering her position. The net of Germany's naval policy are as follows: Germany has built affect which is, and will remain, unable to meet the British fleet, and which therefore is militarily almost useless, and she has created that fleet at the cost of her political position. By her naval policy she has weakened her army, destroyed the Triple Alliance, and raised a powerful combination against herself. Nobody can doubt that owing to her military and naval policy Germany's loss in power and prestige has been greater than her gain in naval strength, and every well-wisher of Germany must fear that her naval policy will in the end involve her in disaster.

Not only politically and militarily but economically also has Germany lost ground, especially during the last few years. The maxim of all the German spending departments seems to be 'Money is no object.' During the last few years German Imperial, national, and local expenditure has increased at an unheard-of rate, and the expenditure has been provided for partly out of taxes and partly out of loans. The following figures are

significant:

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888							36,050,000
890							55,899,900
900							114,925,000
910							244,831,700
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Amount of German Imperial Debt

In 1888, when William the Second came to the throne, the Imperial debt stood at the insignificant sum of 36,050,000l. During twenty-two years of the Emperor's reign more than 208,000,000l. have been added to that debt in peace time, and of that enormous sum not less than 130,000,000l. have been added since 1900, the year when Germany's naval expansion began in earnest. We may say that the navy has added more than 100,000,000l. to Germany's Imperial debt. Of course, the loans raised were largely for 'other objects,' but these other objects would have been paid for out of the Empire's current income had not so much of the current income been spent on the navy.

Germany owes her industrial success very largely to her ability to produce cheaply, and the cheapness of her production was formerly largely due to the lowness of German wages. But wages are no longer low in Germany. Owing to a simultaneous great increase in German wages and in taxation, the cost of production has risen so much that many industries which produce goods that require much labour have begun to suffer. The finer productions require much, the coarser little, labour. How national

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lands. Bothe and higher wages are affecting Germany's manuup by ang industries may be gauged from the following figures:

la.			*****
German Exports of	1905	1910	Difference
	Marks 380,200,000	Marks 365,100,000	Marks - 15,100,000
Cotton goods	293,700,000	263,300,000	_ 30,400,000
Woollen goods Fine ironware	104,300,000	86,500,000	_ 17,800,000
Clothing	114,700,000	73,900,000	_ 40,800,000
Books, maps, etc	96,400,000	62,200,000	= 34,200,000 $= 29,900,000$
Colour prints, etc	79,500,000	49,600,000 43,200,000	= 29,900,000 = 73,900,000
Gold and silverware.	117,100,000 64,600,000	38.800.000	_ 25,800,000
Porcelain	04,000,000	00,000,000	
Machines	290,500,000	500,400,000	+209,900,000
Coarse ironware .	139,500,000	165,300,000	+ 25,800,000
Coal-tar dyes .	100,700,000	125,800,000	+ 25,100,000  + 19,900,000
Iron wire	39,600,000	59,500,000 54,800,000	+ 20,700,000
Steel rails	34,100,000 20,100,000	45,000,000	+ 24,900,000
Raw iron	20,100,000	15,000,000	
All exports	5,841,800,000	7,474,700,000	+1,632,900,000
P			

Germany's exports have risen very greatly between 1905 and 1910. Apart from machinery the increases have been particularly great in coarser manufactures, such as raw iron, coarse ironware, steel rails, &c., in which the labour cost is proportionally small. On the other hand, there have been during the same time very considerable decreases in the exports of cotton and woollen goods, clothing, fine ironware, gold and silverware, books, colour prints, porcelain, &c., in all of which the cost of labour is proportionately great. Through the increase in the cost of labour, which is largely due to the indirect effect of high taxation, and owing to the direct taxation put upon the manufacturers, many German industries have been, and are being, transferred to Austria-Hungary, Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, &c., where wages or taxation, or both, are lower. The report of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce of 1909 complained that the ready-made clothes trade was leaving Berlin for London 'because wages are lower in London than in Berlin.' The reports of the British Consul in Frankfurt of 1908 and 1909 pointed out that German industries were being transferred to Great Britain in order to profit from the lower wages in this country.

During the last twenty years the German system of State insurance has been so often and so very greatly extended that its yearly cash cost exceeds at present 50,000,000l. per year, a sum almost as large as that expended on the German Army and Navy combined. That gigantic yearly expenditure acts as a severe tax upon industry. According to Steller's Erhöhung der Gestehungs-

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kosten der Deutschen Anglierende im Gendagensche des in the burden of State insurance per worker has increased in the the Köln-Nippes Cable Works from M.24.50 per head in 1900 M.40.45 per head in 1910. In the Westphälische Drahtindustrie, Hamm, it has increased from M.23.72 per head in 1900 to M.44.87 per head in 1910. In the mine Gutehoffnung, Oberhausen, it has increased from M.41.75 per head in 1898 to M.91.89 per head in 1910. Germany's social policy is apparently beginning to have a restricting effect upon industry, and complaints about its burden are becoming loud and general.

The fact that German industry is no longer progressing as rapidly as it used to, and that it is apparently approaching the point where stagnation begins, is particularly noticeable in the shipbuilding and shipping industries. Here we find the following:

Iron and Steel Shipping Built in Germany

Tn 1890				100,597 tons
In 1900				235,171 tons
In 1910			•	253,613 tons

Between 1890 and 1900 the German shipbuilding industry expanded very greatly. Since 1900 it has expanded very little, and the shipbuilders are complaining loudly. If we now look at Germany's Merchant Marine we find that it has progressed as follows:

Tonnage of German Steamships

In 1896 In 1908	Tons 879,939 2,256,783	In 1908 In 1911	•	2,256,783 2,396,733
Increase for period Increase per year	1,376,844 114,500	Increase for period Increase per year	•	139,950 47,000

Here we find again that the rapid progress of former years is no longer maintained, but has been replaced by a state resembling

In Bismarck's time the German tariffs were simple, and they were made in accordance with national needs. They were just to all classes. Now they are made to suit the Government's parliamentary requirements, and they are largely shaped by party pressure. Moreover, the new German tariff is far too elaborate for practical purposes. Germany's industrial prosperity, which was created by Bismarck's wise fostering care, and especially by his tariff policy, is in danger of being destroyed by unintelligent Government action. Already great harm has been done to the national industries. In Germany's economic policy the absence of a guiding hand is as noticeable as it is in her foreign policy and in her military policy.

The absence of statesmanship and of common foresight into economic matters is particularly noticeable in the case of the

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri lands. Both vings Banks. In these the enormous sum of up by p.,000l. is deposited, an amount four times as large as that harme British Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks combined; and these gigantic deposits are growing at the rate of 50,000,000l. per year, whilst the British Savings Banks deposits grow only by 5,500,000l. per year. The German Savings Banks are purely local institutions. Of their funds only about 10 per cent. are invested in the securities of the Empire and of the various States, 15 per cent. are invested in loans and Stock Exchange securities, which are not easily realisable, and no less than 75 per cent. are The German Savings invested in urban and rural mortgages. Banks deposits are repayable at short notice. Yet nearly the whole of their funds is tied up. Behind the British Savings Banks stands the Government. Their funds are invested exclusively in Government Stock. Therefore the British Savings Banks deposits can easily, and unconditionally, be guaranteed by the State, and the depositors can, in case of need, be paid in Consols. But as the German Savings Banks are run by the local authorities, towns, villages, &c., the State cannot very easily guarantee their solvency, and as they have no common financial reservoir from which they can replenish their funds in time of pressure, a great war might, and probably would, lead to the failure, or to the stoppage, of all, or nearly all, the German Savings Banks. Owing to the insecure position of the Savings Banks a war might cause in Germany by far the greatest financial catastrophe which the world has seen. Yet the Government has done nothing to provide against such a contingency.

German taxation, like the German tariff, suffers from overelaboration in all its branches. In the desire to treat everyone with absolute justice and to prevent fraud, the various taxes are so finely graduated and differentiated, and so many hairsplitting regulations and safeguards have been devised, that their collection requires an enormous army of officials, and the cost of collection stands out of all proportion to the money produced, to the harm of the taxpayers. The fundamental principal of taxation, that the cost of collection should be small in proportion to the produce of the tax, has been forgotten. Here, as in other provinces of Government, the absence of statesmanship and the prominence of the

underling are painfully apparent.

Germany, which used to be the best governed, is now merely the most governed, country in the world, and the defects of the Government in all its branches have created general dissatisfaction. Of that dissatisfaction the rapid growth of the Social Democratic party is the most noteworthy symptom. William the Second came to the throne in 1888. There was a General Election

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	or shall	,	Dam	oera	tic	Votes	Polled	at	General	Elections		
Soc	Social	.1	Jene	ocra							763,100	
In	1887									•	1,427,300	
In	1890					•					1,786,700	
	1893			•		•					2,107,076	
-	1000							-				

In 1890		•				1,786,700
In 1893	1		•			2,107,076
In 1898			•			3,010,771
In 1903			•	•		3,259,000
In 1907				•	200	4,250,919
In 1912						4,200,010

During the Emperor's reign the Social Democratic party has grown in the most extraordinary manner. In 1887 there were eleven Social Democratic members in the Reichstag. Now there are 110 members out of a total of 397.

More than a full third of all the German electors voted in 1912 for Social Democratic candidates. As the Social Democratic party had in 1911 only 837,000 members, of whom 108,000 were women, only 729,000 of the Social Democratic voters were avowed The remaining 3,500,000 voters consisted very largely not only of independent working-men, but of men of all classes of society—bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, professional men, and especially Government servants, such as postmen, railwaymen, &c.; and these voted Socialist in order to register a protest against the Government. The 4,250,919 Social Demoratic votes recorded in 1912 do not show that Socialism is widespread in Germany but that dissatisfaction with the Government is widespread. The people are dissatisfied, not because they are poor—a nation whose workers place every year 50,000,000l. in the Savings Banks is not poor-but because they have become impatient with the failure and mismanagement which have become characteristic of the German Government in all its activities. Governmental absolutism, is tolerable only as long as it is successful.

The German people have scarcely any influence over the national legislation and administration because the officials are not responsible to Parliament. Although Germany possesses the most democratic franchise in the world, manhood franchise, and although plural voting is illegal, Parliament is powerless. The German people are tired of being governed 'from above' by an army of officials. They are tired of being tricked with the semblance of democratic institutions and of a democratic franchise. They wish to govern themselves. A conflict is bound to arise earlier or later between the German bureaucracy and the German democracy. It may arise very soon, and the result will show whether the people are fit for self-government.

The characteristic of Bismarckian Germany was efficiency coupled with frugality. William the First hated pomp and osten-

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lands. Bothefused, for instance, to have gas and electric light up by? in his palaces. In front of his plain wooden bed in haelsberg was a carpet which had been knitted by his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, and a simple wooden chair which had been made by his son, Frederick the Third. His example was followed by the German people. William the Second has preached frugality to his officers, but an area of luxury and waste has been introduced notwithstanding. The old Prussian virtues have disappeared. Riotous living prevails in Germany. Berlin has become the most immoral town in Europe. No less than 20 per cent. of the children born in Berlin are illegitimate. Hundreds of shady restaurants and cafés in which music and dancing takes place are permitted to remain open until four o'clock in the morning or all night long, and most Berliners are proud of the night life of their town, which puts that of Paris in the shade. An unnameable vice, which the French call le vice allemand, has permeated the highest military and social circles, as was seen at the Eulenburg Trial. Vice is paraded openly and shamelessly. The German police, which is always ready to interfere vigorously with political meetings, makes no attempt to interfere with the evil. The German Government sees apparently no reason for suppressing it. The old idealism of Germany has given way to a zoarse materialism. Religious sentiment is disappearing.

The foregoing should suffice to show that Germany is politically, militarily, economically, administratively, and morally on the down grade. But it would be rash to conclude from the evidence furnished that Germany will continue declining, although she will very probably experience difficult times. Germany, being a one-man country, shows evidences of decline because she lacks the man whom she requires, and she will go ahead again as soon as she has a man who is able to control her gigantic Government machine. But will she find such a man? Many patriotic Germans doubt it. Therefore, some of them, remembering the invigorating effect of Prussia's defeat in 1806, actually wish for a disastrous war in the hope that it will re-create and rejuvenate the country. Others hope that the abolition of absolutistic and the introduction of parliamentary government will save Germany. The latter, therefore, welcome the growth of the Social Democratic party, and they would gladly see the outbreak of a conflict between Parliament and the Crown, even if it should lead to a civil war or the establishment of a republic. Among the leaders of German thought, deep pessimism and the fear of national disaster prevails widely. I have endeavoured to express their views in the foregoing pages.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

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# CABLES VERSUS WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY

The so-called 'shrinkage of the earth' due to telegraphy has at all times a fascination for Imperially minded people; and it can certainly be claimed that the electric telegraph has done more than any other invention to promote unity and a better understanding between the different branches of a far-reaching

Empire like ours.

Both cable and wireless telegraphy have, however, been peculiarly in the public eye of late. This is partly due to the continued agitation for an Imperial Atlantic Cable. It is, further, explained by the fact that the Government has (a) refused to be party to the proposed State Atlantic Cable and land-line connexion with the All-British Pacific Cable; and, on the other hand, (b) has announced its intention to take up a big scheme for establishing an inter-Imperial system of wireless telegraphy to the East and Far East. These decisions were brought out very clearly in the course of a debate in the House of Commons on the 2nd of April.

On the above account, presumably, there has been great activity in both cable and wireless (Marconi) stocks. As is usually the case, public imagination has been carried away on altogether insufficient grounds. Thus, certain ('Eastern' and 'Eastern Extension' Companies') cable shares have fallen 7½ points in 100l., whilst quite an unwarranted 'gamble' has been proceeding in the holdings of the Marconi Company.

Another feature which has naturally aroused interest, and which may have had something to do with the recent traffic in telegraph stock, relates to cable tariffs. For a quarter of a century—year in and year out—I have urged: (1) That the Government should stipulate for tariff control in return for granting, or renewing, cable licences; (2) That a system of half-rates for messages deferred for twenty-hour hours should be introduced—partly with a view to turning the cable to better account during the more or less idle hours of the night, etc., but also as a service intermediate between the essentially speedy, yet expensive, urgent cablegram and the ordinary mail to distant

lands.¹ Both of these suggested reforms have now been taken up by an eminently able and active Postmaster-General: in fact, half-rates for deferred messages came into operation throughout the British Empire on the first day of the present year, whilst special provision has been added in the interests of the Imperial Press, whose cause has been warmly espoused by the Empire Press Union. Whether these innovations in the cable tariff have really had anything to do with the Stock Exchange activity in cable and wireless stock it is not, however, easy to say.

#### IMPERIAL WIRELESS SCHEME

Superior telegraphic facilities with the rest of the Empire are evidently recognised by the present Government as worthy of realisation. Indeed, both the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer have several times expressed themselves as highly favourable to cable communication as an alternative to Imperial Preference. It would seem, however, as though something, or somebody, has meanwhile convinced those in power that wireless telegraphy is a superior weapon to cables.

The nature and scope of the Imperial wireless scheme have already been described so often and fully in the newspapers that it is scarcely necessary to set it forth here. The Colonial Secretary (Mr. Harcourt) has referred to it as 'covering three-quarters of the world'; and, as his authority is irrefutable, that will well serve our purpose. It may, however, be added that one of the Marconi Company's circulars speaks of it as 'for the purpose of

conducting a commercial telegraph service.'

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The scheme has to come before Parliament for ratification; and the two important questions for consideration in this connexion will naturally be that of value on the one hand, and cost on the other. In opposing the project for a State Atlantic cable, the Postmaster-General (Mr. Samuel) said: 'In view of the fact that wireless telegraphy is making great progress, and undoubtedly has a great future, it would be in the highest degree ill-advised to press on the Government so large a capital expenditure.' Yet the Imperial wireless scheme will in the end admittedly cost substantially more. If, however, it can be shown to be of greater value to the country, no fault can be found with this line of argument, though—as has been remarked by Mr. Page Croft in the House of Commons—we do not give

<sup>2</sup> Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), 3rd of April 1912.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I have never, however, favoured that which seems to be especially attractive to the lay newspapers, though not actually adopted by the authorities—i.e. the much talked of, but inexpert, proposal for 1d. a word throughout the entire world: firstly, because I am no believer in advocating things that do not appear to be practicable; and, secondly, because I am a firm advocate for a preferential inter-Imperial Telegraph Tariff.

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennal and eGangoric open the development of aerial navigation. The ground covered by the Imperial wireless scheme is, of course, greater than that by the proposed transatlantic line; but it has to be remembered that the need for the latter has become accentuated by the circumstance that all our cable communication with Canada—affecting the whole of the Empire—is now under the control of two American companies. Moreover, the Imperial wireless scheme will be in competition with a cable system (providing an excellent, if costly, service) of a British Company, whereas the projected Atlantic cable would be in competition with foreign interests only.

Then, again, the Postmaster-General's main objection to the Atlantic line appears to have been that it would not be selfsupporting. This he was very clear and definite about. Yet in regard to the Imperial wireless project-which, on the other hand, he referred to as 'a perfectly practicable scheme'-he contents himself with the statement that this will be 'notunremunerative to the Governments concerned '-without giving any particulars to support that view. It may, therefore, be pertinently but respectfully inquired, on what are the estimates of traffic for the wireless scheme based? commercial system of wireless telegraphy so far established is that of the Marconi Company across the Atlantic. this, as yet, shown signs of being a subject of profit? how is it that the Government did not purchase the long-distance stations on each side (seeing that these are on British territory) Then, again, if when taking over the English coast stations? the traffic on the Marconi transatlantic system were at all material, it might naturally be expected that the transatlantic cable traffic would have been affected thereby. There are, however, no signs of this; on the contrary, the traffic has considerably increased during the period since the wireless service was established. Were it otherwise, there can be little doubt that cable rates would have been reduced to the same figure as the wireless tariff-or at any rate to something lower than that at which they have stood for the last twenty-four years.

Yet if adequate value is obtained for any expenditure which may fall on the general taxpayer, no fault, in my opinion, can

be reasonably found.

The advisers to the Government seem highly optimistic in regard to the future effect of wireless telegraphy 'for linking up the Empire by rapid and economical transmission of news. Let us hope that this optimism may be justified by practical It is now some years since I recommended just such a scheme—not, however, as a substitute for the Imperial cable In addition to non-urgent, purely personal, messages,

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I am especially in favour of wireless where it is desired to disseminate information, or news, to as wide an audience as possible—for, say, Imperial Press purposes. Thus it would also be of considerable value sometimes for leading an enemy astray. The fact that the system is comparatively ill-adapted to code work would often be immaterial, for even cipher codes are fairly readily deciphered, as was evidenced only recently when trouble was brewing between this country and Germany.

The objections to the particular proposal now before the public are: (a) that the route involves a wireless range associated with the heart of the European continent, which means that all our messages—possibly of an important State nature—will be open to interruption and eavesdropping at the hands of foreign countries; (b) that most of the stations will be situated in the tropics, where wireless working is notoriously unsatisfactory; and (c) that the amount of relay and retransmission work will be considerable, involving substantial time and material

scope for errors.

Although it clearly redounds to the credit of the Government that it proposes to promote an industry whilst still in course of development, it may be doubted whether, when public money is required, the State is justified in adopting a comparatively untried method of achieving a given result. It would seem to me to rest with the Government first to prove that the results by the newer method, value for value, are superior-or at any rate equally good; and one question that may well be asked is: 'Has wireless telegraphy already proved itself to be sufficiently satisfactory, as compared with telegraphy by cable, to warrant a big inter-Imperial wireless scheme (out of public funds) in preference to a State telegraph system based on fifty years' trial and experience?' The recent wireless work at the seat of war near Tripoli does not seem to bear out the implied superiority of 'wireless' even for strategic purposes. On the contrary, only a small proportion of the messages from that quarter since the outbreak have come by 'wireless' as compared with those by cable. Moreover, though in the very heart of 'wireless' interests, two more cables have just been ordered for that vicinity by the Italian Government.

# MONOPOLY AND 'WRITE-UPS'

This 'chain of wireless stations' is apparently to be entirely on one system, the company concerned having alone the opportunity of equipment. The term of the agreement is twenty-eight years, whilst the earliest period at which it can be terminated is eighteen years.

There are manifest objections to lengthy agreements of this

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chemai and e Gangette ular system—equally so whether cables or 'wireless' is concerned. The policy foreshadowed here appears to me, indeed, to constitute a distinct reversal of the altogether admirable policy of the same Government in the year 1907 regarding the International Radio-Telegraphic Convention. I refer to the policy of 'equality of opportunity' which I had the pleasure of strenuously advocating (for British systems generally) when giving independent evidence to the House of Commons Committee dealing with the subject. From the public standpoint there would have been the advantages of competition and comparison had the contract been split up among at any rate two vested interests.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, there appears to be no provision in the agreement (though that is usual) to meet the contingency of an improved method being meanwhile devised by a rival inventor.

We live in an age of American 'Publicity Departments' for dealing with subjects in the literary columns of newspapers in place of the ordinary, straightforward advertisement. Many newspapers in this country have of late been well provided with such material in regard to this Imperial wireless scheme—often more or less in the same words. This 'booming' of 'wireless' has, indeed, seldom lacked extravagance at any time, and now shows signs of no diminution in outlay.

In a recent article I read:

Submarine cables may be cut, as has just happened through the action of the Italian fleet in the Mediterranean, but the wireless service is immune from interruptions of this kind. It is also free from those weather disturbances which have such disastrous effects on overhead wires.

Shallow-water cables are, of course, cut in time of war, and always will be. For this reason I have constantly argued in favour of deep-water cables in the open ocean, far removed from foreign waters and from trade routes such as the Mediterranean Sea; and it is on these grounds that I regard the Pacific route (approached from here by the Atlantic) so important for our communications with the rest of the Empire. Certainly wire-

<sup>3</sup> It cannot be suggested that the Marconi Company have any sole right in the matter; for, as already mentioned, I myself several years ago put forward such a scheme of Imperial wireless telegraphy—mainly for the simultaneous circulation of news throughout the Empire—as an auxiliary to the proposed All-British cable-chain.

'The fertile imagination of the journalist has been hard at work lately. Thus, it becomes second nature to a man who builds up a great superstructure in sensational head-lines to describe in much detail how the closing piece played by the band on the sinking *Titanic* was 'Nearer, my God, to Thee.' We may next expect a head-line census of those who still find time, even under normally comfortable conditions, to say their prayers and go to church.

less antennae are not regarded by the enemy as a cable to be cut, but rather as something that forms a ready target for shooting down from a distance. The closing words of the above paragraph read very strangely immediately after one of the principal wireless towers has been completely swept away by a gale.<sup>5</sup>

The writer goes on to remark: 'A good deal has been said and written about lack of speed on the part of wireless messages. As a matter of fact, however, as many words—about thirty per minute—can be sent by the wireless agencies as by submarine

cables, and the speed of the former is rapidly improving.'

The truth is that thirty words per minute is about the maximum speed by hand transmission, but long and busy cables—such as those across the Atlantic—are worked automatically at a speed of some fifty words a minute each way simultaneously, amounting practically in effect to 100 words per minute. Further, if traffic conditions warranted it, by means of a larger insulated conductor far higher speeds could be achieved—more or less closely approaching that on a land line.

Thus, wireless 'flashing'—as the wireless 'write-ups' usually like to express it—is, comparatively speaking, often rather a ponderous flashing; but so insistent has been the booming of wireless telegraphy lately at the expense of cables that the ordinary public might well imagine the latter were things of the past. A visit to a large cable-factory would, however, usually serve to

correct that false impression.

## CABLE AND WIRELESS ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

We have now arrived at a stage when we may dispassionately review the respective merits and demerits of cable and wireless telegraphy, that being, indeed, the main purpose of this article.

Sureness.—The Postmaster-General was at some pains to point to the prospects of the proposed Atlantic cable being interrupted. On the other hand, he did not appear correspondingly to contemplate the possibility of interruption to the Imperial wireless system; and it may, perhaps, be asked whether 'wireless' has shown itself to be less prone to interruption than cables. Further, when interrupted, is a wireless telegraphy system more speedily reinstated than a cable? So far as can be seen the reply is likely to be in the negative in both respects; for, quite recently (as was remarked earlier), the wireless station at Nauen collapsed

The All-British Pacific Cable has only had one brief interruption, and that

after a number of years' work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The degree of knowledge of the writer may be gathered from the sentence, 'A submarine cable cannot be laid over any great distance for less than half a million sterling.' Apparently the author imagines there is merely an indirect connection in the cost of a cable with its construction, and that the question of length is only roughly connected with this cost.

during a gale at a cost of tens of thousands of peunds; and it has already been officially announced that the said station will not be again available for work for at least six months. Moreover, it took upwards of a year to reinstate the Marconi transatlantic station at Glace Bay. On the other hand, the repair of a cable occupies more usually something in the neighbourhood of a fortnight, while its behaviour is at any rate independent of gales.

From the strictly strategic point of view any system of wireless telegraphy should obviously have certain advantages over a cable. These advantages have, at first sight, naturally appealed to the Navy, for by 'wireless' the Admiralty is put into possession of a means of direct and speedy communication with outlying fleets—i.e. with the ships themselves instead of with the cable station in their more or less immediate vicinity. This, however, is on the supposition of reliability; and before altogether settling which is likely to be the more valuable in time of trouble, it will be well to consider closely (a) which is the more vulnerable to attack, and (b) which is the more readily, or seriously, affected by weather and atmospheric conditions.

Secrecy.—As in the case of a letter conveyed by a third party, one of the requirements of telegraphic communication is secrecy. In this respect the cable obviously has the advantage. To illustrate the difference, indeed, I would remark on the constant reminders I receive that if the order of the two inventions had been reversed, the cable would have been regarded in the same wonderful light as that in which we all regard 'wireless'coming as a boon, in fact, for confining the path of our messages direct to the individuals for whom they are intended. For purposes of analogy-but without straining the point too far-the protected (secret) message may be likened to Protection, while the free and open character of wireless telegraphy may be considered as corresponding to Free Trade. It is sometimes suggested that the use of a secret code meets all objections under this head; but, as I have already stated, the secrecy provided by codes cannot suitably be relied upon; moreover, in my opinion, 'wireless' has not so far reached a sufficient degree of efficiency to render it adapted to code work. I should add, however, that we can only consider things as they are to-day; and whether what I have stated will equally apply in the future is, needless to say, another question entirely.

Meanwhile, the adoption of different wave-lengths—even if it met the requirements of secrecy—would seem to have certain limitations. If, in fact, wireless telegraphy is to be enormously extended, with stations at constant intervals round our coasts, difficulties are all labels as a constant intervals.

difficulties seem likely to arise.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> There are devices for obviating the necessity of high masts or towers, but these do not appear to have been turned to material practical account so far.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri Speed.—The cable is certainly at an advantage in the matter of working speed, though that with 'wireless' has all along been a gradually increasing figure—as with the cable. The above remarks have relation to what may be termed the gross speed; but those of us who are concerned with observing what is going on in 'wireless' as with cables, know the vast difference in the two services on account of the numerous repetitions found necessary in 'wireless'—even in plain-language messages.

Accuracy.—Here, again, at the present time the cable is

at a great advantage.

Disturbance and Interruption.—It is not an easy or a speedy matter to tap or cut a cable—or interrupt a message passing through it—if the said cable is laid in deep water. On the other hand, to disturb or interrupt or pick up a wireless message is a comparatively simple business: indeed, practically all the 'wireless' that is carried on may be said to be under unofficial observation daily. Thus, when it has been boasted that 'wireless' is a secret method of telegraphy, the opposite has been proved. Moreover, when it has been boasted that 'wireless' cannot be interrupted, that has been disproved. This was notably the case during a famous lecture on wireless telegraphy of some years ago, when the word 'RATS' came through on the receiving instrument (sent by an interrupter, who was forthwith termed a 'scientific hooligan') in place of the message that should have been received!

Another objection to 'wireless' as distinct from cable telegraphy rests in the fact that anyone having the requisite knowledge and facilities is in a position to send out messages without their source being readily detected—as was recently the case in the original false reports regarding the *Titanic*. It may be added, in passing, that the 'wireless' experiences connected with the *Titanic* tragedy, though certainly serving again to remind us of the great benefits of wireless telegraphy, have not altogether tended to greater confidence in that method of communication as compared with cable telegraphy.

The *Titanic* was surrounded by several ships, all within a more or less ordinary 'wireless' range; yet only some of these were in communication with that unfortunate vessel. Why was this? The answer is: (a) that some were not in any way equipped with 'wireless' apparatus; (b) that the power available on others was insufficient; (c) that in other cases the operator was off duty and without any understudy to look out for the very simple distress signal; (d) that in some instances, the installation being on a different system, communication was denied. If a certain tramp-steamer, close by, had had a wireless equipment on board, it is highly probable that the entire ship's company—



1635 souls—would have been spaced us misternal and pangothis, however, is on the supposition of there being no difficulty about,

or objection to, intercommunication.

Those that were saved certainly owe their lives to wireless telegraphy and the Marconi Company in particular. On the other hand, it will be perfectly obvious to anyone who has followed up the matter closely that maritime wireless telegraphy, as an orderly and reliable service, compares, at present, very poorly with the service afforded by a cable. At the present time, what messages shall be sent or received appears to rest with the operator, independently of what is possible or of the captain's instructions. Seeing, too, that there is usually only one man on board who is conversant with the apparatus, it also depends upon whether he happens to be on duty or otherwise. As things stand at the moment, it is open to this operator to turn to personal account—with the Press or otherwise—anything in the way of news or information that he gleans during the working of his instrument. Again, there is evidence of considerable delay and interruption-and, indeed, interception of-messages. For instance, a 'Marconigram' sent by Mr. Bruce Ismay on the Carpathia was intercepted by the United States cruiser Chester, the contents being communicated to headquarters at Washington. Further, in the matter of delay, the same gentleman sent a wireless message from the said ship on the 15th of April which was only received in Canada on the 17th of April.8 At other times there has been evidence of a perfect Babel of wireless telegraphy; and, altogether, a cable service worked under such conditions as the above would, I think, call for a good deal of comment. It is to be hoped, indeed, that wireless communication between ships, and between ship and shore, will be got under more satisfactory control and regulations in the general public interest, if it is to be of full value for saving life and property at sea. Possibly the Titanic Inquiry and the forthcoming International Telegraphic Conference may serve to bring this about. I trust so; for it is now some time since I urged on the Board of Trade that wireless telegraphy should be rendered obligatory for ships, under regulations that would certainly have obviated the sad experiences of this ill-fated vessel. To my mind, it is preposterous that one wireless system, though perfectly capable of communicating with another, should be in a position to refuse to do so; and certainly a continuous watch should be provided, subject to the Captain's direct control. 'Wireless' on board ship should, indeed, be recognised and regulated for with a view to the

<sup>•</sup> Major Archer-Shee recently asked a question in the House of Commons in regard to these irregularities, whereupon the Postmaster-General frankly admitted that certain confusion had arisen.



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri safety of every vessel plying the ocean—rather than merely in the interest of any particular ship—and a common fund provided accordingly.

COMPARISON OF CABLE AND WIRELESS SERVICES IN PRACTICE

One of many recent newspaper reports spoke of a wireless message between London and New York 'occupying on the average a few minutes less than two hours,' and added: 'This compares not at all unfavourably with the average time occupied in transmitting ordinary cable messages.' The truth is, however, that, in the usual way, a cablegram is sent between these points well within twenty minutes, whilst a Stock Exchange cable message is sent and a reply received within three minutes.

The Marconi Company has achieved much and deserves hearty congratulations and support. Yet the Post Office have not, so far, greatly encouraged wireless telegraphy for transatlantic purposes, notwithstanding the apparent preference of the Government for 'wireless' on the larger (inter-Imperial) scale. On the 5th of April I endeavoured to send a 'Marconigram' from a post office in London. This involved much consultation of the Post Office Guide by the clerk behind the counter. That great work proved, however, to be unequal to the occasion, for next day a telegraph-boy left a verbal message stating that the 'Marconigram' could not be sent. A call was, thereupon, made at the neighbouring district post office-to which I had been referred-and the information elicited was to the effect that the money collected from me was insufficient, partly because the charge was at too low a rate, and also because the 'routeing' instruction, 'Via Expanse, Dublin,' was necessary, and for this I, rather than the Company, must pay. Understanding that the money which had been remitted for the original message would be refunded to me by the sub-office from which the original 'Marconigram' had been sent, I then paid for a fresh message, the charge for two words, in addition to the telegraphic address, being 6s. 8d., instead of 7s. by cable (or 3s. 6d. deferred rate); so that there did not appear to be much economy in it-and certainly not, value for value, when the services are compared.

I was subsequently informed that it would be necessary to apply in writing to the General Post Office if I wished to have the charge of the original 'Marconigram' refunded; and that I must state all the particulars—even though it was through no fault of mine that the message was not sent. It is more than a month since these instructions were complied with, but up to the present only the usual printed acknowledgment has reached

me!



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri OTHER WIRELESS SYSTEMS

The foregoing remarks have relation to the Marconi system, that being the only method with which the Government appears to be dealing as regards the Imperial wireless project, whilst it is also the only one with anything in the nature of a commercial service from our shores.

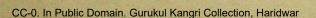
So far, notwithstanding the 1907 Radio-Telegraphic Inquiry, small encouragement appears to have been meted out to any rival system. It may be urged that other methods have been under official test, but that these are not as yet 'on the market' in a commercial sense. But without some definite encouragement in the direction of a contract it is, of course, very difficult for a private enterprise to make headway against anything in the nature of a monopoly. Those of us who are concerned with wireless telegraphy in a strictly impartial sense know that there is at least one system that is doing splendid work with undamped waves. By automatic transmission, this system has attained speeds over long ranges that compare most favourably with what has, as yet, been secured on a cable—and this, too, with excellent recorded signals.9 It should, however, be added that, though admirably adapted to long-distance, high-speed, shore-to-shore communication, it does not appear to be well suited for installation on board ships, or for general intercommunication with other systems.

Possibly these objections would be stated as the reason why this system has not been accorded an opening over the Imperial scheme. Yet these grounds do not appear to be altogether sufficient explanation for the agreement arrived at solely with one company in regard to this far-reaching and obviously costly project. It has to be remembered that by the system referred to the necessity for relay work would be obviated. Another possible defence for the agreement would be on the score of the recent litigation in wireless telegraphy over which the Marconi Company has come out very successfully; and certainly in acquiring the Lodge-Muirhead system (with its 'receiver') the said Company has placed itself in a very strong position. But be that as it may, all agreements of this nature are invariably made to provide for litigation contingencies.

#### GOVERNMENT INQUIRY

It would seem to me that the Government might suitably justify itself for the expenditure of public money solely on one particular system of wireless telegraphy in preference to the

One advantage in the signals being recorded is that improper messages for dishonest purposes are thereby to a great extent obviated and are also more likely to be traced.



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri constantly urged Imperial Atlantic cable scheme; and that, to this end, an absolutely independent Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the relative merits (under the principal heads) of all existing methods of communication. Such a course would, indeed, be following on the lines of the Royal Commission of 1861 for inquiry into the best form of construction for a submarine telegraph cable—the labours of which served so eminently useful a purpose. If, as the result of such an inquiry, it can be shown that shrewd business-people are foolish in going on investing in cables—aye, and keeping their money in cables—those concerned may just as well know it, and the sooner the better.

Another inquiry that might usefully be made for confirming, or otherwise, the recently adopted Government policy, would be as to whether the Imperial wireless scheme—competing with British private enterprise and an excellent service—was more required than the previously proposed All-British link with Canada. If the answer happened to be in the negative, whether this latter link should be by cable or 'wireless' would depend upon the result of the other suggested inquiry. In any case it should be remembered that—so far as a second string goes—this is already available in the Marconi transatlantic service.

#### COLONIAL AND FOREIGN VIEWS

The views of the Government in regard to effective telegraphic communication do not appear to be shared either by the Colonies (which continue to press for the All-British line) or by our neighbours. If wireless telegraphy is more effective than the cable, how comes it that the Canada-West Indies Royal Commission of 1910 urged for the latter rather than 'wireless' for connecting up Bermuda with Barbados, Trinidad and British Guiana, even though expert wireless evidence was taken, and even though the cable was agreed to be more costly? The Commission only recommended 'wireless' for the purpose of connecting some of the other, less important, West Indian Islands, where the sea-bottom is eminently unfavourable for cables. Home Government showed a disinclination to follow up these recommendations in the matter of cables, whereupon the Ottawa Conference of last month have now strongly confirmed them in the face of the Home Government's suggestion for wireless telegraphy.

And how do foreign countries act? Germany, France, and Italy all possess admirable wireless systems; yet all these countries, recognising the importance of being independent of our cable system, have established one of their own, and are continuing to lay down further lines. To take an example, the

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotriles German Government subscribes annually to two Atlantic cables no less than 85,000l., and a further 75,000l. towards the German-Dutch cables to the East. Our American cousins, too, can hardly be said to lack in enterprise or appreciation of what the latest inventions can do for them; and the Western Union Telegraph Company of New York would scarcely have indulged in a new Atlantic cable, and practically bought out five British lines, if it had thought 'wireless' would prove more efficient in the end.

It will, of course, be generally admitted that competition by means of an inferior article is scarcely satisfactory, even though the terms may be more favourable; and it is to the credit of the Government that it presumably thinks to 'knock out' other countries in this matter; but will it?

#### INDEPENDENT CONCLUSIONS

It must always be borne in mind that development cannot be reserved for either industry alone; and, though people seem to imagine that cable development is standing still, the reverse is very much the case, both technically and in a business way, the result being that the network of cables goes on increasing steadily from year to year—as much as ever; and, judging by recent events, there is no sign of any change in this respect.

For long-range shore work it would seem that the typical 'wireless' future lies before us primarily in the use of persistent oscillations, preferably generated by mechanical rather than physical means. Here we ensure securing all the advantages associated with the use of undamped oscillations—provided the mechanical problems associated with such a machine are capable of solution—without the objections attached to a more or less unstable arc. Such a system would not, however, adapt itself to ordinary maritime purposes.

Dealing with facts as they are to-day, my own view is that cable and wireless telegraphy each has its independent uses. Whilst we require more cables, I am also in favour of wireless telegraphy as an auxiliary service. I would, indeed, supplement every inter-Imperial cable by some wireless system, thereby affording a convenient test for the relative merits of cables and of different wireless systems.

Meantime, the Mother Country may any day be put to shame by our Dominions beyond the Seas—or by some Imperially minded individual—producing the necessary half-million capital to remedy our present position in regard to telegraphic communication with Canada and the All-British Pacific line to Australasia.

CHARLES BRIGHT.

### WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT

(I)

SOME AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCES OF THE ORGANISATION OF A DISESTABLISHED CHURCH

A SPEAKER during the debate preceding the second reading of the 'Established Church (Wales) Bill' said that the right honourable gentleman in charge of the Bill was 'not giving to the Church in Wales the freedom he intended to give. What the Home Secretary

was trying to do was to found a new Church.'

It is obviously a much more difficult thing to uproot an organism which is the oldest in a country than it is to plant a cutting from that organism in new conditions in a new land. But some information as to the organisation of an unestablished Church in the Empire may not be without interest and usefulness ere the details of the Bill come before the Committee of the House. Australia, as I have often ventured to say, is a 'testing shop' for social, political and ecclesiastical experiments. Almost as much can be learned from our failures as from our successes. And I may add that, in venturing to give some information upon this subject, I do not hold any brief either for the Government or for the Opposition. I am simply setting down the result of my observation, and my conclusions after sixteen years' work in Australia.

## CONNEXION WITH THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

Taking it for granted that the Government intends to give freedom to the Church in Wales, it is by no means certain that the Bill in its present form will realise such good intentions. The crucial point is not the attitude that the State proposes to take towards the Welsh Church. That is indicated by Clause 3 of the Bill. It is the conditions upon which the Welsh Church after disestablishment will hold its property. 'Established by law' is a popular phrase, but, like many other popular phrases, it is not easy to define. It is still more difficult to reduce within terms of law an institution not originally called into existence by statute. And the connexion between such an institution and the State, with which for very many centuries it has been identified, is still more difficult wholly to disannul. For instance, the Bill contains no



schedule of Acts Peptaled. Arya Sawail Pundation Change and equivalent are courately how a court would interpret an Act framed without such repealing clause. Again, how would a court interpret the franchise question raised in Clause 13 providing for the constitution of a representative body? These criticisms are not intended to be full. They are simply intended to illustrate the need for settling what will be the exact legal position of the Church in Wales in the case of disestablishment. The point has been raised by an acute Welsh correspondent of The Times, who writes:

The attempt . . . to reduce a National Church to the level of a voluntary association . . . has resulted . . . in a half measure which would shatter the oldest organism in Wales . . . without endowing it with the independence which is held to be one of the blessings of disestablishment.

Australian experience here shows the unwisdom of trusting too much to good intentions. The English State, at least for forty years, has made no claim to any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the British Colonies. The courts have declared that the 'law of the Church does not follow the law of the flag.' The English Church has told us that we shall render our best contribution to the Church Catholic by growing freely in our own environments. And in Australia until last year it was generally thought that the Church was quite free. In this conviction the Church organised itself as completely, although perhaps not as efficiently, as possible. Serious doubts as to the reality of that freedom, however, were expressed from time to time, and consequently the General Synod, at their 1910 session, sought legal advice in England. It is now common knowledge, although it is not officially announced, that the General Synod Committee have been advised that the Anglican Churches in Australia and Tasmania are all tied up in such a fashion that, although they are free in the eyes of both the English and Australian States, they are legally (in the eyes of the courts) subject to the same laws as are binding on the Church of England. The authorities of the Church are not competent to permit the use of any services not provided by the Book of Common Prayer which an English Bishop cannot lawfully permit in his diocese in England. The Australian courts must regard as binding, in matters respecting the proper use of property, the decision of English courts. And any persons in possession of Australian Church property disregarding such decisions must be regarded as guilty of a breach of trust, and be dealt with accordingly. This surprising state of affairs obviously is a serious weakness to the Australian Church. It is safe to say that it was not contemplated by those who framed the organisations of the Church there. A simple method of putting the position right undoubtedly can be found, but until the matter is put right all Church organisation in Australia is in an exceedingly

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri unsound condition. It is necessary to understand this state of affairs to obviate any confusion between the organisation of the Australian Church and the basis upon which that organisation rests. It has also a bearing upon the future of the Church in Wales. It will be a cruel wrong to leave the Church in Wales deprived of endowments, suffering from all the inconveniences of establishment with no corresponding advantages.

#### CONNEXION BETWEEN A DISESTABLISHED CHURCH AND THE STATE

Assuming that the Government honestly intend the Church in Wales to be really free, that is, not fettered by any vexatious restrictions similar, let it be said, to those in France, the exact connexion with the State demands more careful consideration than it has received in the Bill. Here also something may be learned from Australia.

So far as all the States of the Commonwealth are concerned, the Church in Australia is completely and entirely free. Nowhere does the Church occupy a different position from that of any other religious body.

The form of legal connexion with the State varies, however, in the several States. In Queensland the connexion is of the simplest character, and for that reason it is the most satisfactory. Synod of each diocese in Queensland is incorporated under the provisions of the 'Religious, Educational and Charitable Institutions Act of 1861.' The method of incorporation and the subsequent relationship with the Government is identical in the cases of all religious bodies. Friendly Societies are incorporated under the same Act, and have a similar connexion with the State. Each body corporate is competent, so far as the Queensland State is concerned, to make its own laws, to exercise its own discipline and to settle its own qualifications of membership. It must do this by the principles of the law of contract. But since no citizen can contract himself, or be contracted by others, out of his civil rights, the decisions of any Church court are open to review by the Civil courts so far as they affect property and other civil rights. Thus the Queensland State, while it gives absolute freedom to the Church 'to decree Rites or Ceremonies,' and makes no claim whatever to 'authority in Controversies of Faith,' protects, in such matters, alike the civil rights of the Church and of the individual. Either might otherwise suffer from the effect of some odium theologicum, which may easily arise so long as men are men and associations are associations.

In this connexion there is a striking similarity between Queensland and Roman law. Although there may have been no official relationship between the Christian Churches of the first century and the pathetic collegia funeraticia, yet the inference is. very convincing that the Hights obtained by the and Garage titable associations which sprang up in the early Roman Empire were for a time available to Christians as well. In other words, the Christian Church was probably first recognised by the Roman State as a collection of local 'friendly societies' or local 'burial clubs.' It is, therefore, interesting to note that a similar relationship exists in the most democratic country in the world. It is scarcely less interesting to find that this relationship is considered to be eminently satisfactory to-day. This point is worthy of note by English statesmen.

#### THE BASIS OF ORGANISATION IN A DISESTABLISHED CHURCH

Any Government disestablishing a Church which it does not wish to disable or destroy, must be satisfied that freedom will not entail anarchy in Church organisation. To prevent such a state of affairs arising in Queensland, Church people themselves adopted what is generally known as the 'Consensual Compact.' In other Australian States an endeavour was made to settle the conditions of relationship within the Church by successive Acts of the respective State Parliaments. This method, although in force outside Queensland, is both cumbrous and unsatisfactory. no apparent desire on the part of members of Parliament to hamper the progress of Church Bills in the Australian Legislative Assemblies and Councils, yet there undoubtedly exists a danger of improper interference while any Bill is in its Committee stages. And, owing to pressure of other parliamentary business, even Church Bills may share in the 'slaughter of innocents' at the end of almost every session. In Queensland, where the law of contract is the basis of Church relationship, there has been little or no need for appeals to the State Parliament. All members of Synod, including the Bishop, all churchwardens, readers, schoolmasters, and other office-bearers must sign a declaration of submission to Synod. The Bishop's declaration in the diocese of North Queensland is as follows:

I, A.B., chosen Bishop of the Church and See of North Queensland, do promise that I will maintain and teach the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as acknowledged and received by the Synod of the Diocese of North Queensland; and I consent to be bound by all Canons and Regulations of the Synod now or hereafter in force; and I hereby undertake immediately to resign the said Bishopric and all the rights and emoluments appertaining thereto if sentence requiring such resignation shall at any time be passed upon me after due examination had by the Tribunal acknowledged by the said Synod for the trial of a Bishop in accordance with the Determinations of the General Synod.

The declaration required from others is in the following form:

I, A.B., declare that I am a bona-fide member of the Church of England, and that I am a communicant of the same, and I submit to the authority

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri of the Synod of the branch of the Church of England in the Diocese of North Queensland established by a Constitution agreed to on the 13th of June, 1883, and I consent to be bound by all the provisions of the Constitution and by all the Canons and Regulations now or hereafter in force so long as I hold any office, appointment, or emolument in or under the said Synod. And I hereby undertake immediately to resign my office or appointment and all the rights and emoluments appertaining thereto if sentence requiring such resignation should at any time be passed upon me after examination had by the Tribunal appointed by the Synod.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF A DISESTABLISHED CHURCH

Where the State gives real freedom to a Church the details of government are properly outside its province. It will be sufficient if the government is carried out in an orderly fashion with due regard to the just rights of the individuals concerned. The form of government in an unestablished Church is instructive, however, and the method by which an efficient system of government is best reached is very important. Here much can be learned from Australian failures.

The Government of the Church in Queensland is effected by Diocesan Synods, and in certain defined matters by a Provincial Synod created by the dioceses in 1905. In still wider matters, such as the election of a Primate, the formation of provinces and the constitution of an appellate tribunal, rules are made by General Synod of all Australia, and these rules or determinations are accepted by Provincial Synod for all the Queensland dioceses. This point should be noted because the greatest cause of weakness to the Australian Church has been the recognition, made during the early days of Church organisation, of the diocese as the unit of Church life. The Church has progressed to the organisation of Provincial Synods and a General Synod, but the determinations of General Synod are still not binding in any diocese until the diocese itself has accepted it. Some dioceses, in point of fact, have never accepted some particular determination. Other dioceses have subsequently repealed their acceptance for purposes of their own. Others, again, have repealed Acts, and have failed to accept amending determinations of General Synod. Consequently the larger organisation of the Church has been reduced to such a tangle as might fill any jurist with despair. The worst is that the Australian Church has not profited by its own experience. The amazing error of making laws which are dependent upon constituent bodies for their efficacy has been repeated in the Provinces of New South Wales and Victoria. In Queensland only a better state of affairs exists. But the point which is of interest in England is that the experience of Australia shows that the true unit of effective Church Government is a central body.

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
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Presuming that the Church in Wales is disestablished, this point should be clearly borne in mind by those responsible for the organisation of the Church. With a vivid knowledge of the weaknesses of Australian organisation, I could not help feeling relief, almost delight, that the Welsh Church Bill provided for the recognition of a representative body, although I may add that a remark of Mr. McKenna to the effect that the Government contemplate differentiating between a representative body and a Synod has done much to modify my first feelings. A single administrative body should render it possible from the first for Church development in Wales to be planned from the centre rather than from the extremities. Let the aim be to make the representative body the parliament of the Church, supreme in its own sphere.

But, if the experience of an unestablished Church is of any value, there must be a strong representative basis for that representative body. Free Churches will not tolerate a predominantly ex-officio representation. There is no provision in Queensland Synods for the inclusion of a solitary clerical or lay member who sits by virtue of an office. The Bishops themselves represent the

suffrages of the Church as a separate order.

The organisation of the parishes, so far as it affects selfgovernment, is also a matter of primary importance, but the amount of self-government should be determined and delegated by the representative governing body of the Church. I can foresee nothing but weakness for any unestablished or disestablished Church if development is allowed to proceed from the parishes to the representative body.

#### CHURCH COURTS

The formation of Church Courts is provided for in the Bill, and these are probably essential. In Australia the Church has organised diocesan and provincial courts, and a Judicial Committee of General Synod. In Queensland the procedure of the Supreme Court of the State, both in hearings and in appeals, has been adopted alike in the Bishops' court and in the Metropolitan's court. But by a curious development it seems likely that the Civil Courts will almost invariably be used where rights of property are involved, except in comparatively unimportant cases. It is felt not only by the defendants, but by the appellants, that there is a certainty of better justice being done in courts where the judges are better trained in sifting facts and weighing evidence. It goes without saying that in Queensland the Civil courts administer, in Church matters, association, that is Church, law except where civil rights are otherwise affected thereby. This fact is worthy of note, although it may not be approved, and although Church courts may still settle many disputes which it is better should not be taken into Civil Courtsublic Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

#### ELECTORAL QUALIFICATIONS

The electoral qualifications of Church members have not apparently been considered in the Welsh Church Bill. It is a matter in which the Church in Queensland has made some valuable experiments. And while the qualification is not yet exactly identical throughout Queensland, development is proceeding in various dioceses upon much the same lines. At first the qualification for a parishioner was left as vague as it is now in England. Next a written declaration of bona-fide Church membership was required, with proof that the candidate had contributed a certain fixed sum during the previous year to Church funds. This monetary qualification was manifestly undesirable, and a very strong effort was made to insist upon a communicant qualification instead. It was decided in 1906, largely through a traditional dread of tests, tomake a loophole for the 'accustomed attendant' who might or might not be a communicant. The declaration in North Queensland at present runs:

I, A.B., declare that I am a baptised member of that branch of the Holy Catholic Church commonly known as the Church of England in the Dioceses of Australia and Tasmania: that I am of the full age of twenty-one years, that I am a communicant as defined by the Book of Common Prayer (or that I have been an accustomed attendant for the twelve months last past at —— Church within this district); and that I am not registered in any other district as a Parishioner.

It may, en passant, interest the supporters of Women's Suffrage to learn that women have equal voting power with men. They are at present excluded from Church offices and from Synod, but I am not prepared to maintain that such exclusion is rational, or that it is likely to continue.

A great deal can be said against the theory of enfranchising the 'accustomed attendant.' In practice it is found that the loophole is seldom utilised. It is becoming more and more felt by the laity that a parishioner should be in full communion with the Church. The canon at present sets Holy Communion as a standard rather than a test for parishioners. None the less, the trend of Church opinion is towards insisting that only those who are communicants shall take any part in the elections of the Church. The importance of electoral qualifications cannot easily be overestimated. In both England and Wales at the present moment the position is simply chaotic.

#### CHURCH APPOINTMENTS

The basis of all Church appointments in Queensland is strongly democratic. The parishioners elect the churchwardens, the auditors, the lay members of Synod, the parochial members of the nomination board for the appointment of their respective rectors and vicars, and two-thirds of the number of the parochial

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The members of Synod, clerical and lay, elect in Synod council. the diocesan members of the nomination board. The diocesan members act in all appointments. The parochial members act only in the appointments affecting their respective parishes. The members of Synod also elect the Bishop when a vacancy in the see occurs. The Bishop, therefore, holds office and authority by virtue of a democratic vote.

The method of election of a Bishop in open Synod is often open to grave criticism in practice, although it usually results in the selection of 'safe men.' The choice of Bishops by a Prime Minister, on the other hand, although it may be wrong in theory, works out in practice extremely well. I am unable to suggest any completely satisfactory plan of electing Bishops in an unestablished or disestablished Church. On the whole, I think it is better to have a committee of clergy and laity appointed by each Diocesan Synod, and called a Bishops' Election Committee, who shall, acting together with the provincial Bishops, make an election. A method of escape can be arranged in case of deadlock.

#### ENDOWMENTS AND FINANCE

Questions connected with the justice of disendowing the Church in Wales do not fall within the lines laid down for this article. But the payment of clergy is a constant source of anxiety in a Church where there are no parochial endowments. experience of all Free Churches is identical on this point. There is a general movement throughout Australia towards payment through central diocesan funds. It has everywhere been found practically impossible otherwise to guarantee a fixed and reliable stipend to any clergyman coming to a parish. Payment is made by results, and the clergy very often receive much less than they were led to expect when they were appointed. This 'payment by results,' satisfactory as it may appear in theory, in practice renders it not only difficult to obtain clergy for particular appointments, but it militates against men of education and power coming forward for ordination. The clergy never expect, in Australia, large salaries, but, like men in any other walk of life, they wish their small stipends to be secure. The present system also tends to make congregations and clergy regard constant popularity as being the chief qualification of a clergyman-a very regrettable and dangerous view of the Christian ministry. The remedy for this seems to be the payment of clergy through a central fund-parishes paying into the diocesan office the parochial contributions to stipend, and the office paying out the full stipend every month to the particular clergyman. To bring this into practice a central clergy endowment fund will be necessary in order to assist poor parishes to pay a living wage, and to adjust any temporary deficit in the parochial contributions. This method of payment, where it is worked well, has been found to promote security and sound finance. If the Church in Wales is disestablished and partially disendowed, it is devoutly to be hoped that a central endowment fund sufficiently to augment contributions from poor parishes will be formed at the beginning. Otherwise the work of the Church will be temporarily paralysed at least in the poorer parts. The fund should be vested in the central governing body for administration. For this purpose it is necessary to constitute the representative governing body as a 'corporation sole' to ensure

corporate action and continuity of tenure as trustees.

This point has been provided for in the Bill, and it has been clearly provided that the representative body should be the truefies and administrators of all Church funds so far as the Gove etween is concerned. But as I have already indicated, fract of their made by Mr. McKenna to a question by Mr. Orms erritorial forces seem probable that the Government contempl otest against disamendment in Committee by which two Chothe land and were created—a representative body to 'hold and ishment means the perty,' a Synod 'with power to lay down a ity by the nation as discipline, rules and articles of the Church is ociety which brought arises a grave danger of dual control and oncrete embodiment. Why cannot Synod be constituted a corporativege—what privilege in its own hands? Australian experience is ts rather the 'spoilt inging to the post an undivided control. Again let me say, I hold no brief either for that recognition,

or for the Opposition. I have tried to the best was. avoid taking sides, but I venture to hope that trument. 'That an unendowed Church may be of interest and use kened through Government statesmen, in my humble judgment, 'o notice.' If, if, in their desire for what they believe to be nationalled. But he end by leaving the Church in Wales crippled and un, even from its mission. Opposition Churchmen, also in my humbood course will not be wise if in their opposition to the present Bill they rail to present, at least in Committee, some definite constructive plan for a disestablished Church in Wales in case the present Bill become law.

GEORGE H. FRODSHAM,
Bishop of North Queensland.

# WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT

(II)

THE CLERGY AND DISESTABLISHMENT: A REPLY TO THE REV. FRANCIS POWELL

If Mr. Francis Powell's exposition of the reasons 'why some of the clergy will welcome Disestablishment' be intended as compious contribution to the discussion on Welsh Disestablishor disesit is open to the same criticism as most of the speeches a committees on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. and called a be are said, not unjustly, to have been vague together with the the abstract desirability of Home Rule for of escape can be artically to have ignored the Bill which was ir subject. Mr. Powell's article shows no

En the Government's proposals for dealing

Questions connecVales, but merely uses the agitation against Church in Wales do convenient text to urge immediate disarticle. But the pay Church in England. Mr. Powell may reply in a Church wherecludes the less, but this is hardly practical experience of all Fesent time. Nevertheless his arguments are is a general mussion, if only because they are opposed to the through central great majority of his clerical brethren, and practically impogreater majority of the professed laity of the stipend to any cland. People who place themselves in disagreeresults, and them to the greater number of those among whom led to expect move and have their being have, as a rule, not

results,' sati, but good reasons and a good conscience. it not only well admits readily enough that Establishment is not

Act at a certain definite time, but he does compare it to the setting up of the territorial forces. 'Where,' he asks, 'would be the amour propre of our territorial forces if, in defiance of the nation's will, they objected to their disbandment?' But the analogy does not hold good. The territorial forces are purely a State creation for State purposes only, and have neither use nor meaning apart from the State. But Mr. Powell assuredly does not so conceive of the Church. The statement would be erroneous even in respect of establishment. It has been, he admits, the growth of long ages. 'Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo' is the true account of the relations between Church and

1 Nineteenth Century and After, May 1912.



State. The one Church with her one Faith gave to the uncivilised tribes whom she found here the unity Constantine hoped she would give to the decaying Roman Empire. By her example those tribes developed into one nation, by her the nation was admitted within the Christian commonwealth, through her it was brought under the influence of the civilisation and learning of the rest of Christendom. Naturally the Church, which was co-extensive with the nation, although never merely identified with it-still less looked upon as its creation, even in the aspect of 'establishment'-was regarded as the source and centre of all that was highest and best in the national life; hence the continuance of that common growth and mutual support which afterwards came to be called Establishment and almost defies analysis. There is not, then, the smallest resemblance between the Church and the territorial or other forces in respect of their relations with the State. But perhaps even the territorial forces might, without any damage to amour propre, protest against disbandment if a foreign force had just invaded the land and were threatening the national existence. Establishment means the outward and visible recognition of Christianity by the nation as the true religion, and of the Church as the Society which brought her that religion, and in which it has concrete embodiment. The Church is surely not clinging to privilege—what privilege does she possess? Are not the Nonconformists rather the 'spoilt children' of the nation now?-but is simply clinging to the post of duty, if she strains every nerve to preserve that recognition, in the hope of making it again the reality it once was.

This brings us to Mr. Powell's palmary argument. 'That both Church and State,' he writes, 'are weakened through Establishment few intelligent observers can fail to notice.' If, indeed, he can make that good, the question is settled. But he makes no attempt whatever to show that the State, even from his point of view, has been let or hindered in any good course by her connexion with the Church. It is against the Church, as established, that his diatribe—he must allow me the word—is directed; and the head and front of the Church's offending seems to be that the immense majority of her clergy and zealous laity

decline to support the Liberal party.

It was the attitude of the Church as a whole [he tells us] during the last two General Elections, when it is not too much to say that the hard-won liberties of our race were in considerable jeopardy, which made the writer vow that never again would he support the Establishment.

Well, well! It is quite impossible for Mr. Powell to understand that many of us thought, and still think, that 'the hardwon liberties' were not only threatened but have been seriously



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri injured by the party he admires? It is impossible to argue the question here, but a conscientious man may surely believe, and do his best to make others believe, that a practically unchecked Single-Chamber Constitution, modern party discipline being what it is, is likely to be as injurious to liberty, as unjust and tyrannical, as the government of Louis the Fourteenth. Mr. Powell is shocked at the idea of the Church siding with those who desired to maintain what he calls 'the absurd veto of the House of Lords upon the legislation approved by a huge majority of elected representatives of forty-five millions of people.' Considering how divided the country is on the question-although only six or seven millions out of Mr. Powell's forty-five millions possess votes—these remarks are more like an extract from a violent Radical leaflet than a serious criticism of the Church. More unjustifiable still is his unwarrantable assertion that the Church 'would rather the food of the poor were taxed instead of the unearned increment of the landed property of the rich.' It must be obvious to anyone not blinded by party spirit that a Tariff Reformer may be as anxious to benefit the poor as the most uncompromising Cobdenite, and that he advocates his policy as the very best method of raising wages and curing the evil of unemployment. Since he has the opinion of nearly the whole civilised world, outside Great Britain, on his side, it is supremely ridiculous to make the Church's support of such a policy—if she does support it, which Mr. Powell does not prove-a serious reason for advocating her disestablishment.

Another count in Mr. Powell's indictment of the Church is what he assumes to have been her attitude on the question of Chinese labour in South Africa. Really this is a dangerous subject for Mr. Powell's friends. Has he quite forgotten Mr. Winston Churchill's famous admission as to 'terminological inexactitudes'? The fact that the Liberal party has been remarkably shy of raising the taunt of 'Chinese slavery' of late years, which would have been worked for all it was worth had the Unionist policy been really so immoral as was alleged in 1906, tends to show that Mr. Churchill's phrase was a true but charitable description of an outcry that was none too creditable in regard to the language used.

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Powell further in the instances he gives of the political obliquity of Churchmen in general. In nearly all his cases the accusation is that they have not supported several of the measures of the present Government.

What plagues and what portents! What mutiny! What raging of the sea! Shaking of earth! Commotion in the winds! Frights, changes, horrors,

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri Divert and crack, rend and deracinate The unity and married calm of States Quite from their fixture!

because a majority, possibly a large majority, of Churchmen cannot see their way to support Mr. Asquith! It is, alas! true enough that many a time the Church, in the person of her leaders, has advocated, or at least supported, a policy that we now see was mistaken and wrong. No society that has endured for many centuries, no nation either, is there that has not cause to blush for many errors, and that has not many a time, with the best intentions, 'come short of its suppose,'

> Sith every action that hath gone before Whereof we have record, trial did draw Bias and thwart, not answering the aim, And that unbodied figure of the thought That gave 't surmisèd shape.

But it may fairly be said that a party which has been avowedly attacking the Church in her schools and—in the case of Wales in her possessions and immemorial status cannot fairly complain if very many Churchmen find themselves driven, sometimes against their will, to support for the time being the opposite party. Nor can that attitude, in view of the admitted zeal, activity, and devotion shown by the Church of England during the last sixty or seventy years, be by any process of reasoning alleged as a sufficient cause for condemning her as incorrigibly wrongheaded and obstructive, and therefore terminating her long connexion with the State.

Mr. Powell, however, does not rely only on the fact that most of the active supporters of the Established Church are hostile to the present Government. He brings a formidable series of charges against the Church for her action in past times, taken from an article in the Times, published, it would seem, some years ago, in which that journal acknowledged that the Establishment was in favour of most of the wrongdoing, and against most of the improvements, of the Governments of the eighteenth and These charges are the first half of the nineteenth century. fortified by an appeal to Lord Morley's remarks upon the same subject.

It cannot be denied that this attack is far more justified than the attacks on the Church of our own day which have occupied our notice hitherto. But is Mr. Powell right in charging the Church ('the Church as a whole' is his phrase in one passage) with all these misdeeds? Surely the guilty parties he is thinking of were the bishops in the House of Lords. The bishops are not the Church. There is no reason to suppose that during the Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotti of period in question they paid much attention to the opinion of clergy or laity. They were appointed for political reasons, and what the Government sought for, when bishops were to be appointed, was supporters; and (if the popular phrase may be allowed me) they 'saw that they got them.' Hence the bishops of those days were as certain to 'vote straight' as the member of Parliament is now. They voted with the party that appointed them. It is a mournful reflection for Churchmen that the State so abused its trust, and could find some clerical accomplices; but surely in this case the State itself, which made the appointments for such reasons, was the guilty party. The voice of the rank and file of the clergy was stifled, and Convocation was not allowed to meet 'for the despatch of business.' Parliament itself was supposed to represent the laity, but the unreformed Parliament was returned chiefly by the interest and often by the nomination of Whig and Tory grandees. In very truth it was the rank and file of the Church which brought about the reforms enumerated by the Times and quoted by Mr. Powell. It was a soldiers' battle certainly, but the soldiers really are a part of the army. To take some of Mr. Powell's instances: the Parliament that abolished the slave trade was exclusively a Church Parliament; so was the Parliament that repealed the Test and Corporation Acts; so was the Parliament, with hardly an exception, which granted Roman Catholic Emancipation; so was the Parliament, with a few exceptions, which abolished slavery; and William Wilberforce, clarum et venerabile nomen, was a Churchman and a representative of the most living and vigorous Church party of his day. If the 'Church as a whole' had opposed those reforms, not one of them would have been carried in those days. So in regard to the Factory Acts. Lord Shaftesbury, a typical Evangelical Churchman (who was that first and before everything), was the hero of the fight, and John Bright, the Liberal, and the Manchester school were not absolutely conspicuous champions of that reform.

We might go further and retort upon Mr. Powell that, during the greater part of the time referred to in his extract from the Times, the predecessors of the present Liberal party were in power and had the appointment of the bishops in their hands. For a century after the Revolution of 1688 (except for the latter years of Queen Anne's short reign) the Whigs were in power, 'the party of progress,' and the leaders of the Church obediently followed them. And that was, strange to say, the century of the Church's most conspicuous failure. It is a retort as fair as the charge. But, in sober truth, neither the one nor the other is very convincing. The fact is that during the eighteenth century the Church, in spite of being established, was



too weak and also too much occupied with the prevalent unbelief to dream of giving a 'lead' to the Government of the day. seemed to the most thoughtful prelates of the time that the best that could be hoped for was that, with pain and difficulty, the Church might keep the banner of Christ still flying. Surely Mr. Powell has not forgotten Bishop Butler's lament that 'it is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is, now at length, discovered to be fictitious.' Again, in the first part of the nineteenth century, the bloody issue of the French Revolution and its culmination in the career of Napoleon did very much to make people suspicious of the very name of reform. The argument of the 'thin end of the wedge' is often a most mistaken one, but it is very intelligible and not wholly inexcusable in those who believe that they have already seen the wedge driven home in a neighbouring land with the most disastrous results. Neither the Times writer, nor Mr. Powell, nor Lord Morley appear to have thought of these explanations. They have regarded the bishops of those days (though they did not comprise 'the Church as a whole') rather as dummy antagonists to be set up and riddled with the shot of Liberal criticism than as human beings, not wholly unintelligent, and not proved to be unkindly, but swayed—as most men are—by the fears and alarms and also by the difficulties and obscurities of their day.

It may be rejoined that, at any rate, all these blunders were due to the fact of establishment, for if the State had not possessed the appointment of bishops, the Church might have chosen leaders who would have spoken with her voice and not have compromised her so gravely. If this be Mr. Powell's contention, he will find that the majority of Churchmen agree with him. But the right of nomination to bishoprics is not of the essence of establishment. In Scotland, too, there is an Established Church. The State, however, does not appoint its General Assembly nor its Moderator. Freedom to choose its own rulers could be granted to the Church in England as well as in the Scottish Establishment, without any interference with its established position or its endowments. Nor need the bishops be members of the House of Lords. The kirk has none of its ministers sitting there by right of office. Assuredly one need not advocate the immediate pulling down of a house because its roof needs repair.

Mr. Powell is well warranted in pointing out the great difficulty experienced by the Establishment in dealing with its own abuses. He must, however, admit that the chief reason for this, during the last thirty years at any rate, is the unrelenting hostility and obstruction on the part of Liberal members of Parliament. What enormous difficulty Archbishop Benson had

to contend with in his struggle for the Act for the removal of evil-living clergy and for the Benefices Act! Even such purely domestic matters as the division of overgrown and unwieldy sees were not allowed to be non-contentious by small knots of Liberals who, for the most part, did not profess to be members of the Established Church. Who is responsible for the failure to pass the Bishoprics Enabling Bill during the last two or three years? To obstruct every effort on the part of the Church authorities to obtain leave to reform abuses, and then to taunt the Church with those abuses, and even make them a pretext for her disestablishment, is flagrantly unjust and ungenerous. If advocates of Disestablishment in Parliament would, as a matter of honour and decency, treat purely Church measures with the same respect and consideration as was shown by the whole House to the Act for uniting the Bible Christians and the United Methodist Free Church, or the Act settling the difficulty between the Free Kirk in Scotland and the 'Wee Frees,' clergy like Mr. Powell would not long have to complain that the Church's most flagrant abuses are left untouched. Mr. Powell is quite justified in expressing disappointment that more was not done in this direction during the ten years that the Unionists were in power. His disappointment is shared, doubtless, by many of those who are strongly opposed to the opinions set forth in his article. Still, it is fair to remember that those ten years included the years of the Boer War, and the schism in the Unionist party caused by the violent differences on the subject of Tariff Reform; and also that what time Parliament could spare to the Church was wasted in absurd and unprofitable discussions on the question of 'Ritualistic practices.' Indeed, the Kensit movement, which began in 1898, by re-enkindling party differences in the Church—which were on the high road to healing—made it very difficult even for Churchmen to unite in urging noncontentious but necessary measures.

One other reason for Disestablishment is alleged by Mr. Powell. It deals with very serious matters indeed. Freedom from State control will enable the Church to 'restate the whole Christian position,' and to do away with 'our narrow, stereotyped formulae which tend to sterilise living thought.' These expressions are so general, and all that Mr. Powell says on this subject is so vague, that one is not quite sure what he means. If by 'restating the whole Christian position' Mr. Powell means no more than doing for this twentieth century what St. Thomas did for the thirteenth, there is no possible obstacle now. The Angelic Doctor neither asked nor needed any change in the Creeds or the Liturgy. Or does he mean such a revolt from the doctrinal teaching of the Prayer Book as Luther inaugurated in



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri Germany? But Luther did not wait for any change of 'narrow stereotyped formulae.' He convinced people first-in spite of 'Establishment'—and then the congruous changes came naturally. There is really nothing to prevent Mr. Powell and the clergy who think with him from doing the same thing now. If they have a message for our day and generation, let them deliver it and face the consequences. That is what Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas did; so did Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin; so did Laud and Wesley; so did Venn, Romaine, and Newton; so did Newman, Pusey, and Keble. Nothing whatever can be done until they convince the existing clergy and lay members of the Church. Were the Church disestablished to-morrow, the same clergy and laity would be there to oppose and reject Mr. Powell's 'restatement,' as they oppose and reject it now, if it be inconsistent with the historic Faith for which they are zealous. Before Mr. Powell asks for Disestablishment, in order to make this restatement he should tell us what it is. It may be Catholicism, it may be Modernism, it may be Evangelicalism, it may be Ritschlianism, it may be the New Theology. Obviously it is some kind of change in the Prayer Book and Articles that he desires, for anything else can perfectly well be done now. Revision of the Prayer Book is going on now in Convocation. it comes to nothing, it will be because the rank and file of the Church—the very people who would have charge of a revision if the Church were disestablished—will have none of it. A revision opposed by such representative men as the Dean of Canterbury, Canon Newbolt and Lord Halifax would have even less chance then than now.

We must admit, sadly enough, that 'many fine young minds,' as Mr. Powell says, 'go to the Universities with the intention of becoming ordinands who are repelled 'by present circumstances. Their doubts go down to the root of things: doubts concerning the Divinity of Christ, concerning miracles of any kind, concerning the Sacred Scriptures, concerning the supernatural. But the abolition of the old religion and the invention of a new one is a strange way of solving their doubts, even if the new one were falsely labelled 'Christianity.' But would Disestablishment lead earnest Churchmen to consent to this? Let Mr. Powell look round at those Churches in communion with the Church of England which are not established, and which are free to believe and do as they please. What have they done Let us omit the in the direction he appears to indicate? Australian Church, parts of which seem to have bound themselves to make no change that has not been authorised by the Church of England. Has the Church in South Africa done anything towards the 'restating' of the whole Christian

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri position? The Episcopal Church in the United States is free enough; but neither has she committed herself to any religious revolutions; nor has the Church in Canada; nor the disestablished Church in Ireland; nor the Episcopal Church in Scotland. We need not disestablish the Church either in Wales or England in order to enable her to do something that none of her disestablished or non-established sisters have done, and that it is morally certain she herself will not do.

What we have to do—it sorely needs doing—is to learn how best to commend the old Faith to those who at present not see how to reconcile it with modern thought; not to offer them a new one of our devising, which will only go the way of all fancy

religions.

In conclusion, it may be said—it ought to be said—that Mr. Powell is by no means without justification in the reproach (quoted from Bishop Gore) which he levels at the mass of Churchpeople in regard to their 'blank and simply stupid refusal . . . to recognise their social duties.' There are, of course, notable exceptions to be found, no doubt, in every diocese; but they are to the great mass rather as the pelican in the wilderness. But while acknowledging this to the full we may venture to suggest that there is some palliation for their attitude. We are bound to admit that, as Mr. W. S. Lilly tells us in the article immediately preceding Mr. Powell's, 'the great problem now before the world is the reorganisation of industry upon an ethical basis.' Churchpeople are bound as members of the Kingdom of Christ to do all they can to contribute to its solution, and for past failure there is nothing left but confession and amendment. But their apathy has not always been due to selfishness or neglect of known duty. It is often the result of utter perplexity. Many of us do not see our way to accept State Socialism as the cure. The remedy appears worse than the disease. Syndicalism, again, seems a worse remedy still. The Liberal party, as such, . does not appear to have any policy in this matter any more than the Unionists; although the latter do suggest Tariff Reform, which may possibly be of use, but in itself is mere tinkering. Most of us are without the time or means—possibly without the capacity-to dive right into the question for ourselves. We should, it may be hoped, recognise and support a good solution when it is offered, but it has not yet come. And so we sit still It is, no doubt, blameworthy, but 'is there not a and wait. cause?

At least we may be excused for saying that Disestablishment has not the remotest bearing on the question.

A. ST. LEGER WESTALL.

# METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE ODES OF HORACE

Horace has with justice characterised Pindar as the great untranslateable. With still greater justice it may be said that his own Odes defy the translator's art. When the *Dublin University Review* was started under happy auspices more than half a century ago, the editor declared that there were two kinds of literary effort to which he would invariably refuse a place in his pages. These were Vice-Chancellor's prize poems, because they were immature, and renderings of the Odes of Horace, because they

were impossible.

Even the great poets, Milton and Dryden, have not achieved absolute success in dealing with single odes, and we may fairly hold that of those (more than fifty in number) who have essayed a rendering of the whole body of the Odes few there are of whom it can be said that even half of their renderings read like English poems and at the same time recall the manner and art of the Roman lyrist. The Odes are exquisite exotics, miracles of diction and metre. It is hard to trace in them any ordered train of reflection or sincere vein of sentiment; but the easy handling of imported metres, new to Latin and invented by inspired Hellas, as well as the happy daintiness and dignity of language, undoubtedly comes as near to absolute perfection as it is given to human art to approach.

Many of the translators, in setting forth the principles which have guided them, have put forward views about the general character and salient attributes of these charming poems which are mainly just and reasonable. One, among the most recent and certainly the most eminent of them all, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, lays down as an undoubted truth a proposition which is wholly untenable and absolutely misrepresents the character of the Odes. He thus writes in his Preface to the

third edition (1895):

There is, in my view, one special necessity of translation from Horace, which has, so far as I know, heretofore received in many quarters what seems to me a very inadequate share of attention: that is to say, the

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri necessity of compression. . . Without compression, in my opinion, a translation from Horace, whatever its other merits may be, ceases to be Horatian, ceases, that is, to represent the original.

This is diametrically opposed to the true view of the case. Hear Sir Stephen De Vere, one of the very best of the translators, whose version appeared the year before Gladstone's:

No classical author is so difficult of translation as Horace. His extraordinary condensation, so little in harmony with the English language or the usual current of English thought; his habit of embodying in one sequence a single idea connected through all its phases by an almost imperceptible thread; the 'curiosa felicitas' with which he draws a picture by a single epithet, such as 'fabulosus Hydaspes,' 'placens uxor'; his abrupt transitions; the frequent absence of a connecting link enabling the modern reader to track the pervading idea of the poet through the apparently disconnected passages of the poem . . . these are a few of the obstacles with which a translator of Horace has to contend.

Having laid down an entirely unsound principle, the Right Honourable versifier proceeds to apply it—we will see with what result. It is excusable, perhaps, to dwell so much on what is certainly the least successful attempt to transplant the priceless exotics of the Latin lyrist. But the eminent name on the title-page has carried into a third edition a book which without it would not have had half a dozen readers; and it is painful to think what an impression about Latin poetry will be conveyed by it to those who have no Latin, and cannot see for themselves that the volume has in it no trace either of poetry or of Horace. The book on its appearance was welcomed with eulogy quite undeserved by the English Press, receiving from the Quarterly Review a paean of laudation.

Let us examine a few examples of that 'compression' which is so indispensable. To take the first ode, the picturesque ex-

pression

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis, The turning-point grazed by glowing wheels,

appears as

The goal well shunn'd.

Is this compression, or is it mangling and mistranslation? Everything is omitted that is picturesque in the image of the chariot grazing the turning-point with glowing wheels. Meta is the turning-point which was at the end of the spina (or central ridge running the length of the oval racing-track) farthest from the winning-post. This turning-point the charioteers recturally tried to cut as fine as possible. The Gladstonian phrase, if it meant anything, ought to mean 'the prudent abandonment of chariot-racing.' Compression of this kind is characteristic of the

book throughout, but it reaches its climax in the story of the Danaids (III. xi.). Perhaps the most familiar phrase in Horace is 'splendide mendax.' How is it reproduced? It is not reproduced at all. It is omitted, burked, doubtless in the interests of compression. Other choice phrases which have become household words are slurred and spoiled. 'Sublimi feriam sidera vertice' is 'The stars to kiss my head will bow.' In no other version do the stars come down to the poet. Horace and all his other translators make the poet ascend to the stars. 'Dilapsam in cineres facem' (IV. xiii.) is 'Once a flambeau; now an ash.' 'Dulce est desipere in loco' is hardly suggested by ''Tis well to rave in time and place,' and still less can the fine phrase 'famosis laboribus,' so vigorous in Calverley's 'all thy studious infamies,' be recognised under the poor guise of 'All thy plots new scandal make,' which does not even give the meaning of the words. In the same ode (III. xv.) 'nequitia' is 'knavish tricks,' a 'damnosa hereditas' from the National Anthem. word is a very strong one. 'Harlotry' would hardly exaggerate its force. The eminent statesman had forgotten the atmosphere which encompasses Latin words. We doubt if he ever felt it. The study of the Latin language was rudimentary in Oxford when Gladstone won his First. It has since advanced 'by leaps and bounds,' to use the statesman's own phrase. There are not a few serious misapprehensions of the meaning of the Latin text, but we will not advert to these. Our essay aims at estimating the literary qualities of the versions, not their scholarship or accuracy.

Gladstone in his preface lays down a law, as we have said, which is absolutely fatal for the rendering of Horace, in calling for compression while extreme condensation is the leading characteristic of the original; this law he obeys with disastrous results. He adds another admonition to translators, which is quite excellent (indeed, almost superfluous), but which he habitually violates. It is that the translator

should severely limit his use of licentious and imperfect rhymes, and should avoid those irregularities in the use of the English genitive which are so fatal to euphony.

Yet we have set rhyming with unbusièd (p. 33), wrecked and erect (p. 130), abyss and frees (p. 138). Of cacophonous inflexional forms we have such genitives as the Edons', clients'; such verbal inflexions as equipp'st, flung'st; and such rhythmical blots as Elian, Argian (dissyll.) and Patarean, Romulean, Anchisean (trisyll.). Moreover, such words as pate, nape, and such phrases as 'quitting earth for good,' 'the day's entire' for

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'the whole of the day,' are quite alien from the distinguished and refined diction of the Odes, which even avoid diminutives. Nor can we patiently endure 'poetic licences' redolent of Sternhold and Hopkins, like the omission of the article in 'Myrtoan wave' (compare 'Like pelican in wilderness' in the famous perversion of the Psalms), and inverted order of words, as in II. xiii.:

On evil day thou planted wast.

The version as a whole takes its place beside our English metrical version of the Psalms. The undeniable eminence of Gladstone as a speaker would lead a reader who recognises a certain kinship between political oratory and literary faculty to surmise that he might have been more successful, or certainly would not have failed so completely, if he had not disabled himself by his ill-judged attempt to 'abridge the syllabic length of the Latin text, and to carry compression to the furthest practicable point.' Yet sometimes we find thoughts and phrases introduced without any warrant in the text, either to achieve a supposed beauty of expression, as in 'The flood of thy Licymnia's hair 'for 'crine Licymniae,' or to eke out the rhyme, as in III. xxviii., where the italicised words are due only to the translator:

Up, Lyde, that fine juice Old Caecuban, produce;

and ibid. 16:

Then, when the hours grow dim, Old Night shall have her hymn;

and in I. ii. 10:

The elm-tree top to fishy kind Gave harbour.

Now Horace never thought of a harbour for fishes, which indeed would seem superfluous.

In III. i. 33 in the Latin

Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt

there is no 'think' or 'spy,' as in

Their realm is less, the fishes think, When buildings in the sea they spy.

Are we captious in seeing a ludicrous image, and recalling an occasion on which the fishes are said to have become profane under the sun's perpendicular heat'? Again, we are offend in III. xxiv. 54:

Nescit equo rudis Haerere ingenuus puer, Venarique timet.



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri We are aware that in old-fashioned English 'to clip' means to surround, encompass,' hence (perhaps) 'bestride,' but in

Our highborn youth nor hunts nor rides, He cannot clip his horse's sides,

we cannot but think of the accomplishment rather of a groom than of a highborn youth; while in the same ode 'filthy stuff' is solely metri gratia, like 'affront the skies' in IV. xi. 12, 'begun and ended' in IV. vi. 40, and 'till their blood runs icy cold' for 'exanimari' in III. xii. 2. On the other hand, 'splendide mendax' (III. xi. 35) is untranslated, like 'Troiae prope victor altae' (IV. vi. 3), and 'renidet,' almost a keynote of the ode (III. vi. 12). A strange phrase in the poem on the abduction of Europa is not so much a piece of padding as a mistranslation. Europa (III. xxvii. 38) asks herself is she 'awake or dreaming':

vigilansne ploro Turpe commissum?

This appears as

Ah, the awakened sense

Of sin!-

a sentiment which will appeal (perhaps) to the nonconformist conscience, as 'engender heat' for 'torrere jecur' will recommend itself to 'scientists.'

The choice of metres is a most essential matter in the rendering of the Odes. It is obviously incumbent on the translator to render in one and the same metre all odes which Horace has written in this or that metre, Alcaic or Sapphic or Choriambic. Gladstone repudiates this obligation on the quite insufficient ground that Horace has in many cases employed the same metre for odes the most widely divergent in subject and character. In other words, the translator is a better judge than the poet on the delicate question of the auspicious marriage of metre with matter. Gladstone's favourite rhythm is the octosyllabic, which is used effectively by Swift and Butler, and which (with variations) achieves some dignity in the oriental love-tales of Byron and the Border minstrelsy of Scott; but it is quite unsuitable to reproduce the effect of Horace's higher flights in Alcaics and Sapphics. Let us observe how mean is the octosyllabic metre of Gladstone in the fine Alcaic ode (I. xxxvii.) on the death of Cleopatra, and how the better-chosen measures of other translators have raised the tone of the poem. We give the final and loftiest stanzas:

> Ausa et iacentem visere regiam Voltu sereno, fortis et asperas Tractare serpentes, ut atrum Corpore combiberet venenum.

Gladstone.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri Bold to survey with eye serene
The void that had her palace been,
She lodged the vipers on her skin,
Where best to drink the poison in.

Sir Stephen de Vere. In her realm once more,
Serene among deserted fanes,
Unmoved 'mid vacant halls she stood,
Then to the aspic gave her darkening veins,
And sucked the death into her blood.

Theodore Martin. So to her lonely palace-halls she came, With eye serene their desolation view'd, And the fell asps with fearless fingers woo'd To dart their deadliest venom thro' her frame.

F. L. Latham.

She dared upon her palace lying low

To look with face serene; nor did she shrink

Grim snakes from fondling, that her body so

Might in its life-blood their black poison drink.

Conington.

Amid her ruin'd halls she stood
Unblench'd, and fearless to the end
Grasp'd the fell snakes, that all her blood
Might with the cold black venom blend.

Conington's version of the next verse-

Deliberata morte ferocior-

is singularly fine:

Death's purpose flushing in her face.

Martin rises to the height of the subject in the last stanza:

Embracing death with desperate calm, that she Might rob Rome's galleys of the royal prize, Queen to the last, and ne'er in humbled guise To swell a triumph's haughty pageantry.

This is surely the loftiest of the Odes. Many would crown that on Regulus (III. v.), but it is disfigured by a lamentable bathos in its last stanza.

De Vere and Conington, it will be seen, have used the same metre—a stately one. Latham has chosen one longer by a foot in each line, while Martin employs a modification of the *In Memoriam* stanza. Gladstone alone sinks to a rhythm redolent of the nursery moral lyre:

Bill Davis was a dunce and fool, He would not go to Sunday-school.

The famous Amoebean ode, III. ix., so much admired by a great scholar that he said he would rather be its author than be King of Spain, is better turned by Gladstone, but we have again



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his favourite creeping octosyllabics. The last two stanzas are his best, though 'resign' in the third line should be 'resigned,' and we have never met a fickle cork. We will compare his version with others:

Horace.

Gladstone. What if our ancient love awoke,
And bound us with its golden yoke?
If auburn Chloë I resign,
And Lydia once again be mine?

Lord Derby.

Conington.

Walker.

Lydia.

Though fairer than the stars is he,
Thou rougher than the Adrian sea,
And fickle as light cork, yet I
With thee would live, with thee would die.

Horace.

What if the former chain,
That we too rashly broke,
We yet should weave again,
And once more bow beneath the accustom'd yoke?
If Chloë's sway no more I own,
And Lydia fill the vacant throne?

Lydia.
Tho' bright as Morning Star
My Calaïs' beaming brow;
Tho' more inconstant far
And easier chafed than Adria's billows thou,
With thee my life I'd gladly spend,
Content with thee that life to end.

Horace.

What now, if Love returning
Should pair us 'neath his brazen yoke once more,
And, bright-hair'd Chloë spurning,
Horace to off-cast Lydia ope his door?

Lydia.

Though he is fairer, milder,
Than starlight, you lighter than bark of tree,
Than stormy Hadria wilder,
With you to live, to die, were bliss for me.

Horace.

What if old love return and bring once more Our sever'd hearts beneath its yoke of brass, And thrust be gold-hair'd Chloë from the door, That opes for slighted Lydia to pass?

Lydia.

Tho' fairer he than radiant star, and thou,

More light than cork, in temper dost outvie

Rough Adria's angry sea, with thee I'm now

Well pleased to live, with thee not loth to die.

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All the above versions, except the first, seem to have something of poetry and something of Horace. Lord Derby, it will be observed, omits 'levior cortice.'

We have inveighed against octosyllabics, and we must protest against one other metre used (so far as we know) only by Sir Theodore Martin, who in his other metric effects is, perhaps, the happiest of the translators. It is the tinkling cymbal of Moore. Unless the subject is weighty and serious, anapaests degenerate into doggerel, as in

> I myself, wooed by one that was truly a jewel, In thraldom was held which I cheerfully bore, By that vulgar thing, Myrtale, though she was cruel As waves that indent the Calabrian shore.

The same rhythm has utterly vulgarised the pretty ode to Xanthias Phoceus (II. iv.). Surely hardly anything could be more alien than this from the distinguished manner of the Horatian Odes. Yet Martin is one of the best translators, disputing (in our opinion) the primacy with De Vere and Conington. As examples of the art of these three, we would offer, in addition to extracts already made, the following characteristic specimens. De Vere and Martin are champions of freedom, and never bald. Conington is wonderfully successful in steering clear of the reefs of baldness while hugging the shore of the text:

'Felices ter et amplius' (I. xiii. 17). Martin. Oh, trebly blest, and blest for ever, Are they whom true affection binds, No cold distrusts nor janglings sever The union of their constant minds, But life in blended current flows Serene and quiet to the close.

'Somnus agrestium' (III. i. 21). Sleep hovers with extended wing De Vere. Above the roof where labour dwells, Or where the river murmuring Ripples beneath the beechen shade, Or where in Tempe's dells No sound save Zephyr's breath throbs thro' the silver glade.

'Irae Thyesten' (I. xvi. 17). 'Twas wrath that laid Thyestes low; Conington. 'Tis wrath that oft destruction calls On cities, and invites the foe To drive his plough o'er ruin'd walls.

On the whole, perhaps, Conington is the most successful of those who have essayed what many would call an impossible feat, Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri one in which even the august hand of Milton did not maintain its sureness of touch, though in his sonnets to Laurence and to Cyriack Skinner he gives the express quintessence of the manner of Horace, far more perfectly than Marvell in his Ode on the Return of Oliver Cromwell from Ireland, which has been called the most Horatian poem not written by Horace. Conington sometimes treats us to a delightful reminiscence of English poetry, as in II. ix.:

The rain, it rains not every day On the soak'd meads.

His weakness is that he sometimes introduces a thought or figure not to be found in the original, a practice to be condemned, even though the figure be in itself beautiful and poetical, as in

A spectral form Soracte stands.

It is a worse fault to emulate the conceits of the Elizabethan age, as in the somewhat cruel ode to poor passée Lyce (IV. xiii.):

The white has left your teeth And settled on your brow.

However, he does not taunt her in Gladstone's rude phrase as

Once a flambeau, now an ash,

but more courteously deplores her as

A fire-brand, once ablaze, Now smouldering in grey dust.

His choice of metres is very happy. We only regret that he has not made use of the *In Memoriam* rhythm so happily employed by Calverley in I. ix. 21:

Hear now the pretty laugh that tells
In what dim corner lurks thy love,
And snatch a bracelet or a glove
From wrist or hand that scarce rebels.

It may be interesting, after the longer extracts, to compare the different versions of expressions which have won their way into common use, and become household words. Such is 'simplex munditiis' in the famous ode to Pyrrha (I. v.):

Gladstone. With simple care.
Conington. So trim, so simple.
Martin. With all thy seeming-artless grace.
De Vere. In simple neatness artfully arrayed.
Thomas Hood. With cunning carelessness.
Latham. In unbedizened neatness fair.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri ' Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,

Dulce loquentem ' (I. xxii. fin.).

Thy voice, thy smile, my Lalage, Gladstone. I'll love them there.

I'll love and sing my Lalage, De Vere.

Her low sweet voice, her sweeter smile.

That smile so sweet, that voice so sweet, Conington.

Shall still enchant me.

Still Lalage's sweet smile, sweet voice e'en there Martin.

I will adore.

Yet laughing, lisping Lalage E. Yardley. For ever will I love.

My Lalage's sweet laugh I still shall love, Latham. Her prattle sweet.

'Splendide mendax' (III. xi. 35).

Omitted. Gladstone.

By glorious falsehood. Lord Lytton. Magnificently false. Martin. De Verc. Nobly untrue. Gloriously false. Latham.

That splendid falsehood lights her name Conington.

Through times unborn.

'Voltus nimium lubricus aspici' (I. xix. 8).

And face Ah! perilous to view. Gladstone.

That too fair face that blinds when look'd upon. Conington. And face too dazzling for eye to 'bide it. Martin.

And look too bright for mortal eye to endure. Latham.

'Domus exilis Plutonia' (I. iv. 17).

Pluto's cribbing cell. Gladstone.

The void of the Plutonian hall. Conington. Pluto's gloomy mansions. De Vere.

The starveling house unbeautiful of Pluto. Martin. Pluto's narrow house. (So Latham.) Sargent.

> ' Fheu fugaces, Postume, Postume, Labuntur anni ' (II. xiv. 1).

Ah Postumus! Devotion fails Gladstone.

The lapse of gliding years to stay.

Ah Postumus! They fleet away, Conington.

Our years.

Alas, my Postumus, our years De Vere. Glide silently away.

Ah Postumus, the years, the fleeting years, Martin. Still onwards, onwards glide.

Postumus, Postumus, the years glide by us. Lord Lytton.

Ah Postumus, ah Postumus, away Latham. Glide the swift years.

'Placens uxor' (II. xiv. 21).

Winsome wife. (So Martin.) Gladstone.

Your lovely bride. Conington.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri De Vere. Thy gentle wife.

Lord Lytton. Wife in whom thy soul delighteth.

Latham. Thy wife adored.

'Fortiter occupa portum' (I. xiv. 2).

Gladstone. Hold the port: be stout.

Conington. O, haste to make the haven yours.

Martin. Boldly seize

Boldry

The port.

De Vere. Hold fast the port.

Latham. Abide Fast in the haven.

'O matre pulchra filia pulchrior' (I. xvi. 1).

Gladstone. Fairer than thy mother fair.

Conington. O lovelier than the lovely dame

That bore you.

De Vere. O fairer than thy mother fair.

Newman. Fairer child of mother fair!

Latham. O daughter fairer than thy mother fair.

'Cuius octavum trepidavit aetas Claudere lustrum' (II. iv. fin.).

Gladstone. Eight my lustres,

And my shield my age.

Conington. A rival hurrying on to end
His fortieth year.

Latham. One whose life hastes to close in its decline
Its fortieth year.

'Odi profanum volgus et arceo' (III. i. 1).

Gladstone. Begone, vile mob, I bar my door.
Conington. I bid the unhallowed crowd avaunt!

Martin. Ye rabble rout, avaunt!
De Vere. Away, ye herd profane!

Latham. I hate and banish hence the godless crowd.

'Divitias operosiores' (III. i. fin.).

Gladstone. Wealth that taxes toil and time.

Conington. More laborious luxury.

De Vere. The dull load of luxury.

Martin. Wealth which new-born trouble brings. Latham. Riches that but add a heavier load.

'Non sine Dis animosus infans' (III. iv. 20).

Gladstone. A charmèd life by heaven's command.

Conington. The child's inspired: the gods were there.

Martin. By the gods' peculiar grace

Martin. By the gods' peculiar grad No craven-hearted child.

Lord Lytton. Infant courageous under ward divine. Latham. An infant by the gods inspirited.

We might perhaps fitly conclude by giving a few examples of the earliest renderings, and one (Mr. Latham's) which we believe

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to be among the very latest. The first comes from the ill-fated Earl of Surrey, and was written about 1545. 'It is a version of II. x. ('Rectius vives'), of which we give a few lines:

Whoso gladly halseth the golden meane
Voyd of dangers advisdly hath his home
Not with lothsome muck as a den uncleane,
Nor palace-like wherat disdayne may glome.
The lofty pyne the great winde often rives,
With violenter swey falle turrets stepe,
Lightnings assault the huge mountains and clives.
A hart well stayed in overthwartes depe
Hopeth amends, in swete doth fear the soure.

Under Charles I., William Cartwright, a distinguished scholar of Oxford, translated IV. xiii. ('Audivere, Lyce'), of which the following is a stanza:

Thou wert awhile the cried-up face
Of taking arts and catching grace,
My Cinara being dead;
But my fair Cinara's thread
Fates broke, intending thine to draw.
Till thou contest with th' aged daw.

Milton's and Dryden's versions of single poems are so well known that we will content ourselves with a few lines of Dryden's magnificent paraphrase of III. xxix. ('Tyrrhena regum progenies'), of which it has been said that it is probably the one poem written in imitation of Horace that surpasses the original. It is a challenge to Fortune:

What is 't to me,
Who never sail in her unfaithful sea,
If storms arise and clouds grow black,
If the mast split and threaten wrack?
Then let the greedy merchant fear
For his ill-gotten gain,
And pray to gods that will not hear,
While the debating winds and billows bear
His wealth unto the main.

The following is a characteristic specimen (I. vi.) of the art of Mr. F. L. Latham, of Brasenose College, Oxford, the most recent wooer of the Odes, whose volume appeared in 1910:

Who Mars in adamantine vest arrayed
Shall fitly write, or with Troy's dust asmear
Merion, or Tydides by thine aid,
Pallas, of gods the peer?

I sing of revels, I of wars of maids
With neat;trimmed nails keen against youths to fight,
With empty heart, or, if some flame invades,
With heart as ever light.

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The last stanza is happily turned by Whyte Melville, especially the pretty phrase 'vacui sive quid urimur':

Bards of the banquet's rival jests are we, Or amorous struggles of the wanton fair, Touch'd by love's glowing dart or fancy-free, Still merry, still devoid of care.

If anyone thinks this graceful verse almost runs into numbers, let him observe how it comes out in the triscelerate octosyllabics so dear to the aged statesman:

No: me the feast, the war employs
Of girls (their nails well clipt) with boys,
Me fancy-free or something warm;
My playful use does no one harm.

The last verse can hardly be called English for

Non praeter solitum leves.

We cannot refrain from adding the felicitous stanzas of Conington and Martin:

Feasts are my theme, my warriors maidens fair,
Who with pared nails encounter youths in fight;
Be Fancy free or caught in Cupid's snare,
Her temper still is light.

Heart-whole or pierced by Cupid's sting,
We in our airy way
Of banquets and of maidens sing
With pared nails coyly skirmishing
To keep young men at bay.

Widely divergent in their views as to the best method of rendering the Odes of Horace, in one point the translators are agreed. Nearly all of them proclaim in their prefaces that these delightful poems are untranslatable, at least into verse. Mr. Godley, of Magdalen College, Oxford, whose masterly versions we have not quoted, as lying, like Wickham's, outside the scope of our article, which deals only with metrical versions, puts the case well:

Essays in translating the Odes metrically have never yet been crowned with any real success: they have not so far accomplished anything, save, indeed—and this is itself a gain—that they demonstrate by actual experiment the peculiar evanescence of a lyric charm which is so intimately bound up with the genius of the poet, perhaps with the Latin language itself, that it cannot survive transplantation. . . . These essays will no doubt continue to amuse the leisure of scholarly dilettantists. But the result will be negligible till some really great poet gives himself to the task; and their very magnitude makes great poets too careful of their reputation to attempt a labour where failure is damaging and success, after all, would hardly immortalise.

The late Dean Wickham and Mr. Godley have produced prose versions of the Odes which touch perfection in their scholarship and elegance of style. It is no exaggeration to say that they contain in them as much poetry as the most poetical of the metrical versions. We almost regret that Mr. Godley has made the great refusal of metrical garb. His poems in Oxford Echoes and elsewhere show him to be richly endowed with just that kind of literary artistry which might have fitted him to cope with the 'curiosa felicitas' of the Latin lyrist.

We thankfully record our gratitude to those who have delighted us with a rare orchid or splendid jewel here and there. But we must protest against such as, in the interests of compression, have crushed basketfuls of choice exotics into a shapeless mass. Nor can we commend those who use the Odes as little more than pegs on which to hang their own wares. Nearly all the translators admit (as we have observed) that the Odes are not capable of reproduction, yet they are not deterred from attempting the impossible. A medieval philosopher proudly vaunted his faith in the words 'Credo quia impossibile.' would suggest as a motto for the numerous transplanters of the Odes 'Reddo quia impossibile.'

R. Y. TYRRELL.

# THE ULSTER SCOT IN THE UNITED STATES

In the eighties of the last century, just before entering political life, Mr. Roosevelt wrote a remarkable book, entitled 'The Winning of the West.' The region treated of in his inspiring and vigorous pages was not, however, the later West of common parlance, with its cattle ranches, gold mines, grizzly bears, and bad men,' but the West of the preceding century, those fat, rich States which lay just behind that section of the great Appalachian chain commonly known as the Alleghanies. For this very reason, perhaps, though the book took its place at once as a standard work in the United States, it seems to have reached few British readers. Some sense, possibly, of the atmosphere in which its scenes are laid was requisite for a full appreciation of what was indeed something of an epic, written as a labour of love by an author then singularly well equipped for doing justice to so fresh, attractive and stirring a subject. To the few in this country who had breathed the atmosphere and knew the scenes it treated of, the book was an unqualified delight. Yet there is some reason to believe it never found its way into Ulster; and this is singular, since it was incidentally an eloquent and glowing tribute to the notable part which the expatriated Scotch-Irish had played in the making of the United States. The very fact indeed that it was not written from an Ulsterman's point of view, or by an author connected with that stock, or with any design whatever upon a Scotch-Irish public on either side of the ocean, should make such a tribute the more significant.

Now the 'American-Irish' of ordinary current speech, otherwise the Catholic Irish element of to-day, are, as a type and community, a product of the nineteenth century, chiefly associated in the American mind with populous centres, and certainly more with politics than with pioneering. The Scotch-Irish American, on the other hand, belongs emphatically to the eighteenth century, and emerged from his pioneering labours, as Mr. Roosevelt declares, 'an American of Americans.' Of the causes of these great and lamentable flights of Irish Presby-

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terians across the Atlantic the author said nothing, and possibly knew little. He was not inditing a record of the Scotch-Irish, but of the perilous laborious advance of the white man across the Appalachian ranges and the creation of those great States beyond now broadly known as the 'Middle West'; and the Ulster immigrants happened to be the breed that took a foremost part in the enterprise.

It seems almost imperative, however, that a word or two should be said of the generally-forgotten but deplorable proceedings which in a brief space expelled a sufficient number of the hardy Scotch Protestants who had settled in Ulster to fight the American wilderness with such effect as vitally to influence that country's destiny. So far as Englishmen or Americans know anything at all of the planting of the six counties of Ulster under James the First, there is, I conceive, an inclination to picture the original colonists as entirely or chiefly Scotsmen. A glance over the Statutes of the Ulster Plantation, with the full lists of the Undertakers, shows the confiscated lands of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and the numerous lesser chiefs involved in their rising, to have been about equally divided between lowland Scottish and English; the former coming mainly from the counties of Dumbarton, Dumfries and Renfrew, and the latter, curiously enough, less from the northern than from the southern half of England, Norfolk and Suffolk being conspicuous. This may account for the statements made in contemporary letters that the English, for climatic reasons, could not stand the transfer as well as the Scots, while from their higher conceptions of comfort they were less contented and successful as settlers. The grants, for which nominal head-rents were paid, consisted of uniform tracts on three scales of 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 acres respectively, with obligations to erect 'a castle or house of stone surrounded by a bawne,' or walled yard, suggestive of the Border Pele Tower and Barmykin. About a third of the land was precisely specified as demesne, the balance to be planted with tenants from England or the Scottish lowlands, in proportionate and specific numbers, whose houses were to be erected adjoining the bawnea needless injunction one might fancy! Heavy bonds of performance were given by the grantees. The whole business was thoroughly carried out as we know, and proved materially The area at disposal was nearly four a complete success. million acres; but large portions of this were distributed between the church, the university, the free grammar schools and a few other beneficiaries, while the City of London had all or most of the county called by its name. Lastly, a certain number of the dispossessed natives, the 'meer Irish' as the Statutes have it,

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were replaced, but mostly on small holdings and on the poorer lands.

In spite of the massacre of 1641, by which many thousand settlers, at the lowest estimate, lost their lives, the Ulster colony must have made amazing strides, and that, too, without any serious assistance from later immigration. For at the opening of the eighteenth century some 30,000 of its people sailed for America, and altogether within thirty years thrice that number, mainly Scottish Presbyterians, shook the dust of Ireland off their feet. For by this time they were more numerous in the North-East than their English fellow-colonists, chiefly Episcopalians. One would expect in such a situation to write 'co-religionists,' but this would be indeed the climax of irony, seeing that religious intolerance was a leading factor in the prolonged and

disastrous leakage.

The first stimulus to Protestant emigration was the destruction of the Irish woollen trade through the jealousy of English manufacturers, and the Ulster exodus, estimated at 30,000, was merely her large contribution to the general stampede of English, Scottish, or Huguenots, from all over Ireland which it occasioned. But the protracted and even more serious drain which followed was less the fault of England, whose statesmen indeed made languid protests, than of the precious Parliament in Dublin. be quite fair to that eloquent assembly, the final blame rests with its Upper House, or, to be yet more concise, with that astonishing group of well-endowed persons, its bishops, who with brilliant exceptions are surely the most complacently preposterous figures in modern history. But it is enough here that they were the chief instruments in retaining the Presbyterian two-thirds of the British garrison in Ulster under humiliating civil and military disabilities. One would hesitate to quote the glowing periods of Mr. Froude in unsupported evidence on contentious points of Irish history. But there is nothing contentious in this. All are agreed, and he puts a common truism, as might be expected, more trenchantly than the rest.

In 1719 a slight concession was wrung from the Dublin Parliament giving the Presbyterians legal permission to erect, and worship in, their own chapels. The Irish prelates who swooped down in many cases from London, Bath, or Paris to oppose it 'were panic-stricken, that the men who saved Ireland from Tyrconnel, who formed two-thirds of the Protestant population of Ulster, were free to open chapels of their own. Though they were incapacitated from holding public employments, though their marriages were invalid, though they were forbidden to open a single school, or hold any office in town or country above the rank of a petty constable, their mere existence as a legal body was held

as a menace to the Church. Vexed with suits in the Ecclesiastical Courts, forbidden to educate their own children in their own faith, treated as dangerous to a State which but for them would have had no existence, and associated with papists in an Act of Parliament which deprived them of their civil rights, the most enterprising of them abandoned the unthankful service. And then recommenced that Protestant emigration which robbed Ireland of the bravest defenders of the English interest, and peopled the American sea board with fresh flights of Puritans.' But it was not the already occupied sea-board that they peopled; so we purpose here to continue the story so far as the limitations of space admit of.

It is not so much the truculency of the dominant religious faction which provokes astonishment, for that was characteristic of the period everywhere, but the political fatuity of this particular exercise of it. Moreover, the Ulster Presbyterians were after all dissenters but in a technical sense, not as English nonconformists who had broken with the Establishment of their country. These people were hereditary members of a communion that was recognised by King and Parliament as the Established Church of Scotland, enjoying, like that of England, the remnant of the pre-Reformation Church endowments. In Scotland Episcopalians then, as now, were dissenters. But they suffered in the eighteenth century under no disabilities, though for the most part Jacobites; whereas the Ulster Presbyterian was a staunch whig, and supporter of the reigning family! Even the Irish Parliament viewed this drain on Protestant Ireland with anxiety. Indeed, commissioners were appointed to inquire into the cause; which, for an Assembly whose sense of humour was traditionally its strongest point, is excellent. However, it got its information in Blue-book form, and did nothing for sixty years. Meanwhile, as has been stated, 100,000 Ulster Scotsmen left the country within thirty years. For the succeeding forty there was a small but continuous outflow till the further great flights of 1772-4, of which anon.

Now the drift and distribution of the Scotch-Irish emigrants from the very first was as unusual as it proved consistent, but was accounted for in great part by the sentiments they carried with them. Most of the American Colonies south of New England, save the later one of Pennsylvania, either preserved the Anglican establishment or had a strong Anglican flavour in their governing classes. This alone, though there were no bishops, was enough to intimidate these Presbyterian exiles. Nor had New England, so late in the day, any great tracts of unoccupied lands worth having. Yet more, she was herself a group of militant theocracies, and would have given but dubious welcome to a rival form of

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Calvinism, and one too so historically opposed to her own.¹ So
the larger portion of this exodus, sailing week after week in the
comfortless little ships of that day from Belfast and Derry, headed
for Philadelphia, while a substantial minority made for Charlestown, South Carolina. It would seem in both cases that the
Ulsterman had made up his mind to have nothing more to do with
any Governments, British or Colonial, civil or religious. In
South Carolina, though a fairly tolerant province, he made his way
rapidly through civilisation and settled along the then unoccupied
foothills that rise gradually to the most southern section of the
Alleghanies. The larger northern stream pressed through the fat
sea-board Quaker districts of Pennsylvania, pushed past the
German farmers of the second belt, and flung themselves with no
little daring upon the perilous Indian frontier and the straggling

Now the Alleghanies traverse a south-westerly course, roughly speaking from Pennsylvania to Georgia; a huge natural wall, forming at that day the western barrier of Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas; a deep range of successive ridges, rising in places to four, five, and in North Carolina even to six thousand feet.

northern section of that mighty forest range.2

Between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic lay the lower country, from one to two hundred miles in width: where in this eighteenth century dwelt the whole population of our middle and southern colonies, say a million whites and four hundred thousand negro slaves. In 1730, to take a pertinent date, these provinces had some hundred years more or less of existence, and were rapidly growing in population, with but slight assistance from immigration, which, save in Pennsylvania, had long ceased to arrive in any strength. The sea-coast regions were the seats of now old-established communities, giving gradual way to a back belt of country still in process of taming by the first or second generation of its occupants. There was still a great forest solitude between this 'back country' and the Alleghanies, and into this along the foot of the mountains the bulk of the Scotch-Irish pressed their way. As will have been gathered, they struck the range near its two extremities at points some 700 miles apart. The larger groups in the Pennsylvania foothills pushed gradually south, while the Carolina borderers pressed north, till long before the Revolutionary war the two streams had met and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some of the Scotch-Irish emigrants did go to New England, where they found themselves in many cases compelled to pay dues to the Congregational churches.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Some did not go so far, but settled on the edge or within the radius of 'back-country' civilisation, and were supplied with ministers by the Scottish Presbyterian Church.

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linked together a continuous and steadily advancing barrier against the Indian, who roamed among the troughs of the Alleghanies and was in considerable strength behind them.

These mountains were then the western limit of the British Empire. Behind them, short of the Spanish and French territories in the remote West and far South-West, all was a shadowy no-man's-land, vaguely claimed by three nations but virtually held by the most formidable savage warrior, in his own woods, that the world has ever seen. It was the Scotch-Irishman's destiny-if deliberate choice can be so termed-to encounter him in the continual twilight of his own thick forests for three, or even four, generations, and finally to push him out of the far richer transmontane country of the Ohio and Eastern Mississippi Mention too may be incidentally made of the great French scheme of trans-Alleghany dominion, and indeed of a French North America; the attempt at which took shape in 1754 and culminated in the American wing of the Seven Years' War, Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham, and the ultimate expulsion of the French power from the continent.

But the long-drawn line of Scotch-Irish fortified settlements cared less than nothing for British Imperial conquests, and very little at that time for Pennsylvanians, Virginians, or Carolinians, within whose several jurisdictions they nominally lived. Indeed, they saw nothing at all of their fellow-colonists but such detached fragments as broke away from colonial civilisation from time to time and went West to join them. They remained, in short, a people unto themselves; whether planted upon the headwaters of the Potomac, the James, the Roanoke, or the Peedee, just 'mountainy men,' as they were called by these others, sheltering far in their rear and themselves less capable of fighting Indians, from whom they had long been removed, than even the British regular of Braddock's day. But the passion for the wilderness which turned these Ulstermen into experts provoked at the same time the inevitable hostility of the savage. The farmer or weaver of Ulster underwent no little transformation amid such grim and stern surroundings, though his grit one may be sure lost nothing by them, and when he emerged again into the civilisation that his fathers had won from the wilderness, he found no trouble in playing a leading part in it. But in the meantime a glance at him during the process would assuredly have astonished his stayat-home kinsfolk in Antrim or Down! He was a farmer so far as was needful and practicable out of reach of all markets, though as often as not his corn was planted and his grass mown with the long-barrelled, short-stocked, ponderous, small-bore rifle, upon which his life so often hung, placed ready and loaded against a handy stump. What sheep he could protect from the bears and wolves, together with a patch of flax, provided his family with

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covering and clothing. Swarthy as an Indian and almost as sinewy, with hair, the object sometimes of no little pride, falling to his shoulders from beneath a coon-skin cap, a buck-skin hunting-shirt tied at the waist, his nether man encased in the Indian breech-clout, and his feet shod in deer-skin moccasins completed the picture. A hunter, indeed, pre-eminently, not merely for the venison, wild turkey, and bear-meat that more than supplemented his frugal fare, but pelts were almost his sole marketable commodity. Once a year trains of pack-horses laden with the season's spoil of a settlement would go jangling eastward to the border market-towns, returning with salt and iron, articles of vital import to backwoods life. Indeed, a bushel of salt, so laborious was its carriage, was worth a cow and a half!

Such, in the rough, as regards externals, was the Ulster borderer: a type of thousands in the transition period from the civilisation which, though needing him, heaven knows, badly enough at home, drove him out to be the stoutest creator of that other civilisation of which he became later on such a conspicuous

figure.

The Alleghanies, with their spurs and lateral ridges, are assuredly the most beautiful mountains in North Americaputting the Rockies out of consideration as appealing to a quite different standard. The Adirondacks, the White Mountains, the Laurentians of Lower Canada are at a distinct aesthetic disadvantage from the almost unrelieved monotony of pine forest which covers them. This great eighteenth-century frontier rampart, on the other hand, was clad to its very summits, ridge behind ridge, as it often is yet, with a rich canopy of deciduous foliage. Oak and chestnut, poplar and maple, beech and hickory, elm, walnut and ash here interlace their boughs. Intervals of pine, hemlock, or cedar strike but sombre note here and there amid the lush verdure of early summer, or the gorgeous curtain of red, gold, and saffron which, with a radiant splendour unmatched in New England or Canada, hangs from the blue autumnal skies. For a touch of the Southern atmosphere begins to creep over these mountains. A certain indescribable 'hardness,' which attaches to the region of greater climatic extremes to the northward, The lights become softer and richer, the sun sensibly vanishes. both in its rising and its setting more lavish of great effects. Among the woods, too, is always the music of falling waters: pellucid mountain-streams, burrowing their way down tortuous glens, ablaze in June, beneath the grey columns of the forest, with the purple flare of rhododendrons and the ivory gleam of kalmia.

Such was the country which confronted the Scotch-Irish borderer, along his far-extended line, till quite late in the century THE DINETEENTH CENTURY June Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri

his vanguard crossed to the fat lands that proved his ultimate reward. The first generation, whose apprenticeship must have been severe and pangs of nostalgia acute, had to find consolation in the absence of bishops and all forms of interference by any Their sons, accomplished frontiersmen, knew no other life, while the constant influx of later recruits from oversea had in these pioneers ready instructors in the arts of the wilder-The Scotch-Irish, to be sure, by no means monopolised the whole strength of this frontier. But they formed its backboneits controlling element-and set the tone to which all comers conformed. For numbers of adventurers or needy souls from the settled regions cast in their lot with them. Wild or penniless younger sons from the plantations, where entail and primogeniture still flourished, passed through the back counties, their usual resort, and were caught by the fascination of the wilderness. Rough men, too, of wandering habit came here, whether of English, Scotch, Swiss, or German blood: Daniel Boone was of English stock; George Rogers Clarke was an Anglo-Virginian, Sevier, a Huguenot; while Shelby was of Welsh origin-to mention a few conspicuous names. But Scotch-Irish was the dominant strain, and once a mountain-man, nationality had little further significance.

Their small settlements lay mostly in the well-watered valleys among the foothills of the main range. Two rows of cabins of squared logs would stand face to face, their back walls thus forming a compact outer defence; loopholes were pierced for the longbarrelled rifles, while the end of the little street could be readily closed at a crisis.

In the more dangerous posts-for localities naturally differed in this respect—there was a block-house to which the defenders, if hard beset, could retire with their families as the garrison of a medieval castle in like predicament abandoned the inner bailey for the keep. Around the village spread the clearings, their outer fringes still bristling with raw stumps, such as you may see anywhere in the folds of the Alleghanies to-day, and beyond the stumps or the huge skeletons of 'belted' trees was the interminable mysterious forest, whence issued every enemy of the settler, human fiend or predatory beast. Every borderer was an expert shot and a skilled axeman, for the rifle and the axe were the tools essential to life. Physical courage and normal honesty were his title to recognition. Nothing else very much mattered. Their rifles were inordinately long and heavy, bored out of solid iron for small bullets of sixty to the pound, and carrying with precision up to about eighty yards. In past years spent near this old stamping-ground of the Scotch-Irishman I have frequently handled surviving specimens of these portentous, ill-balanced Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

weapons, some of which were nearly six feet long, and I have seen one or two that only a strong man could hold to his shoulder. But the old backwoodsmen, as a matter of fact, fired when possible from a rest. Every settlement, or group of settlements, possessed a rough military organisation with an appointed leader. But effective discipline, with such heady individualists, was out of the The advantage here lay, curiously enough, with the Indians, who by this time were all armed with the rifle, and almost as good shots as the borderer. But efficient as the latter became in every art of forest-warfare and the chase, he could never conceal himself or follow a trail with the consummate craft of the savage. The latter, too, in an action between large war-parties could maintain an extended line in the thick woods with an accuracy beyond the power of any large body of white men. Lastly, he was obedient to his leaders, and, above all, knew exactly when to give up the game and vanish, at which he was a pastmaster. Of ordinary fear the Red Indian knew nothing, but he held on principle that to fight on for mere bravado and court defeat or even a drawn battle was mere foolishness-poor strategy, in short. For his numbers were limited, and he was really anxious 'to fight another day' to better purpose. innumerable sanguinary contests on the frontier between single men or small groups, the borderer held his own: combats that began with the rifle from behind trees or logs, to be often continued by a hand-to-hand fight with tomahawks, and always terminating with the last horror of the scalping-knife. As regards hostilities on a larger scale, however, the battle of the Great Kenawha in 1774, where over a thousand of either colour were engaged, is said to be the first occasion in which a force of borderers ever defeated an equal number of Indians. This is subversive of our accepted ideas of savage warfare, which are accustomed, with good reason, to picture small companies of Britons defying the rage of heathen hosts. But the conditions here were peculiar, as will be patent on a moment's reflection.

The borderers were in a chronic state of more or less warfare with the Indians. The country just beyond the Alleghanies was the common hunting-ground at that time of both the North-Western and the Southern tribes. They resented the intrusion of the 'long hunters' who, in twos and threes, or even alone, would thread the remotest forests for months at a time, under incredible hardships and dangers, fascinated, as it were, by their own dare-devil powers. But, above all, the savage dreaded the slow advance of the settlements, with the result that these last could never feel really secure, and a successful raid on a frontier settlement was in truth a frightful thing. For it meant not merely death and destruction, but for the men protracted horrible

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tortures, for the women slavery and degradation. Yet the bloody tale is full of those extraordinary instances, not of mercyfor the Red man was frankly devoid of that amiable characteristic-but of caprice which spared and even cherished an occasional Enoch Ardens figured in frequent incidents of the frontier, where an unwritten law gave the woman her choice between the first husband and the one in possession. religion as survived among these descendants of the Covenanters was nominally Presbyterian, and there were even a few log churches. But there was no exaltation of the occasional wandering preacher. On the contrary, in his rousing exhortations he had to be careful of the amour propre of his touchy audience lest peradventure he should find himself in the brook!

Nor, again, was there much left of the technical observances. the scriptural searchings, the ardent theological controversies and hair-splittings which distinguished their covenanting forefathers, or their own North British kinsmen. But they retained the designation of their creed, at any rate, and in later days of peace and plenty their descendants mostly resumed their position within its orthodox fold. Sunday seems to have been observed, when convenient. There were a good many Bibles, too, and even a few secular books on the frontier, and the rudiments of education were fairly well maintained. There seems to have been, on the whole, a certain rough-and-ready sense of religion, curiously mingled with a secular truculency that the strain of such an existence naturally fostered. Morality took care of itself, as in the respectable classes of the Southern States, where a detected breach of it was avenged to the death if there were any male relatives to take the part of the woman. Rough justice was meted cut to the thief, from death in the case of a horse, to a flogging for a bag of meal. The women and children were treated with kindness and affection; the boys trained to the rifle from a tender age, and taught to take their place at the loophole in case of need. The pastimes of the frontier consisted of shooting-matches, shortcourse races on the lean, hardy little nags which every man possessed, and last, but not least, wrestling contests. These often degenerated into those savage mauls of biting and 'gouging' that for some inexplicable reason obtained among all types of the common people throughout the Middle and Southern States, and are referred to with horror by English travellers of the period. But such documentary evidence is superfluous. For within my own memory the backwoodsmen of the Southern Alleghanies occasionally indulged in these brutal contests, which seemed so paradoxical among men of British stock. went out of fashion with the introduction of the revolver after the Civil War. But in the seventies there was still here and







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there a veteran 'champion' in the remoter counties, who bragged of his prowess in these appalling rough-and-ready fights. For some were quasi-friendly contests, though only terminating with insensibility, and often the permanent dusfigurement of the vanquished. The traditional procedure of a competitor for honours at this brutal business was to leap on a stump, crack his heels, flap his arms, and crow in imitation of a rooster (for cock-fighting too was popular), proclaiming at great length, and in a sort of bastard imitation of the boastful Indian brave chanting his war-song, the frightful punishment he would administer to anyone foolhardy enough to accept his invitation.

The most wholesale catastrophe that ever befel the Scotch-Irish frontier was after Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela in 1755. This sheep-like slaughter of the first British regular force ever seen in America was a moral disaster, and brought the Indians, egged on and often led by the French, in their whole strength against the frontier, which was rolled back along its northern half in an orgie of blood, fire, and massacre—upon the terrified outer belt of civilisation behind them. planters of the Maryland and Virginia low country began to quake in their beds; for they weren't fond of fighting at that time, as their deplorable apathy throughout this whole French war conspicuously demonstrated. Their Legislature had rather grudgingly supplied young Colonel Washington, himself of backwoods experience, with a thousand mutinous militiamen and equally inefficient officers. The father-to-be of his country, then stationed in the Shenandoah Valley, speaks of them, and indeed of the whole attitude of his own colony, with scorn and indignation. The sight of the fugitive settlers drove Washington half frantic in his impotency to advance with such a ragged and ill-found regiment, 'mumbling property and liberty' at every touch of discipline. Hundreds of families were flying eastward through the passes, with heartrending tales of the desolation, death, and worse they had left behind them. The smug Quaker Legislature of Pennsylvania for long declined to provide a man or a dollar. They were safe themselves, and war was against their principles. The Scotch-Irish borderer within the limits of that colony, raging at the ruined homesteads and mangled corpses of his compatriots, threatened to ride on Philadelphia. After infinite delay and one ludicrous panic that the wild frontiersmen were actually upon them with immediate designs on the peaceful burghers' scalps, some tardy measures for defence were taken. It was not, however, till the French were driven out of the Ohio Valley two years later that the fiendish work was entirely stayed, and peace restored upon the extreme northern frontier, hitherto the less dangerous section. The Quakers had always cherished a Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri

particular antipathy to the Presbyterians. Henceforward we may be sure it was returned with interest.

It seems just possible that the reader may have formed an impression that these borderers were mere nomads, advancing as it were en bloc. If so, I must hasten to correct it. The advance was made gradually from position to position by the more adventurous souls and the surplus youth. The rough clearings remained in their owners' hands, to become in time smiling fields, and the log cabins to be replaced by comfortable homesteads. The wave of colonial civilisation in the rear gradually swept in. New counties were formed, with their Court-houses. Churches and schools arose, and the Scotch-Irish belt became by degrees absorbed into the normal life of the colony. But it never lost its racial flavour, and of this vitality the beautiful Shenandoah Valley in Virginia is to-day an admirable illustration. It is the most ornate and best-farmed region of that State, lying between the lofty narrow wall of the Blue Ridge and the main Alleghany chain, and containing four counties and probably 150,000 souls. The dominant racial note is still Scotch-Irish, and 'The Valley' is regarded in Virginia by its mainly English-descended and easygoing people as a Scotch-Irish district, and distinguished for certain characteristics not shared by the typical Virginian of the slave districts, as many years spent near its edge gives me good reason to know. A superiority in farming, in thrift, and the fullest measure of all the essential virtues were always frankly conceded to the Scotch-Irishman. Indeed, his comparatively well-tilled fields, his roomy substantial barn and modest but neat dwelling, were in sufficient contrast to the slovenly farming, the poor out-buildings but more pretentious dwelling, of his eastern neighbour. He had not, as a rule, cared to own many slaves before the War, for practical not conscientious reasons, and showed his sense thereby. But his neighbours were accustomed to qualify their encomiums by certain criticism of his hardness at a bargain, his lack of gratuitous hospitality to the casual wayfarer, his reserve and other traits inscrutable to the more expansive soul of the Anglo-Southerner. Indeed, in the hearing one might almost fancy the latter a Kilkenny squireen discussing the farmer of Down or Antrim, for their temperamental antipathies were of much the same nature.

About 1772 came another great flight of Presbyterians from Though their civil disabilities still remained, this later dislodgement was mainly provoked by large and sweeping evictions on several great estates. To be precise, numbers of long leases terminated about this time, and, with but slight regard for the thrifty, long-seated tenant, the farms were relet virtually to the highest bidder, and the Celtic population of optimistic temperament, and not as yet of the emigrating habit, entered joyfully into the competition. According to Dr. Reid, a fourth of the rural Presbyterian population of Ulster now crossed the seas -a certain nobleman of large possessions, and a commoner of great estate, seem to have been the chief offenders, followed by many other landlords. This provoked riots and counter-riots, and created the 'Peep o' Day Boys' and 'Catholic Defenders,' and no end of that turbulence familiar to the miserable annals of Irish history. 'It is rare,' says Mr. Froude, 'that two private persons have power to create effects so considerable as to assist in dismembering an empire and provoking a civil war [the Irish rebellion of '98]. One was rewarded with a marquisate, the other with a viscountcy. If rewards were proportioned to deserts, a fitter retribution to both of them would have been forfeiture and Tower Hill.' For this last exodus is commonly credited by historians with contributing in great abundance to Washington's armies. This is probable, as numbers of these 30,000 exiles would have scarcely yet settled down, and so be ripe and ready for an adventure that must have marched at the moment with their embittered feelings. The real borderers, however, took no great part in the War of Independence. Their sympathies would have been almost to a man anti-British, but they were too remotely situated to feel strongly about questions which they neither understood nor were directly affected by. Above all, they had the Indian danger ever present at home. The Shenandoah Valley sent numbers of riflemen, while a thousand mounted men from the much remoter settlements in the North Carolina mountains made in 1780 one flying march into the zone of war, fought on their own account the dramatic and victorious battle of King's Mountain against Ferguson and his Tory militia from the Carolinas, and went back again to fight for their own homes against fresh Indian attacks. The crowning achievement, however, of the Ulster immigrants was the leading part they took in the perilous settlement and peaceful occupation of Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee at the close of the century. Of all the older stocks who helped to make the United States, it is quite certain that none in proportion to its numbers has deserved better of the Republic, or produced in after years more men of mark in every department of life. No other, perhaps, has proved in this respect its equal.

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June

RIVAL LAND POLICIES

In a recent debate in the House of Lords the Duke of Marlborough appealed to the Government to make a full statement of their land policy, to which Lord Crewe replied that it was sufficiently indicated in the measures which the Government had passed into law. It seems to me a much more pertinent question to ask what is the land policy of the Unionist party. There is no lack of material from which an answer to that question might be deduced, ranging from Mr. Jesse Collings' Purchase of Land Bill to the suggestions of Sir Gilbert Parker and the Small Ownership Committee, not to mention Mr. Ellis Barker's drastic proposals for the compulsory expropriation of the existing race of landlords and the establishment in their place of 5,000,000 small freeholders. But when we look more closely into the matter, two points of interest emerge. In the first place, it is instructive to notice that the specific proposals which are put forward emanate mainly from men who cannot be regarded as specially representative of the landed interest or of agriculture. I believe that the late Lord Salisbury was once irreverent enough to describe Mr. Jesse Collings as an inveterate Cockney, and certainly neither Sir Gilbert Parker nor Mr. Ellis Barker have hitherto been recognised as agricultural experts. I should be the last person to say that for that reason their proposals are unworthy of serious consideration, but it is at least permissible to note that the Unionist party, who have always affected to jeer at the Liberals for their alleged lack of practical knowledge of land and agriculture, are now being led on these questions by a trio of townsmen. There are some interesting comments on this point by a Unionist writer in the April number of the Fortnightly Review, who speaks of 'a vast and ridiculous scheme for peasant proprietorship,' and appeals to Mr. Bonar Law to 'refuse to allow urban members to impose their theoretical views on the agricultural members of the party.' In the second place, it is worthy of notice that the official leaders of the Unionist party have been extremely cautious in their endorsement of the details of the policy that they are being pressed to adopt. It is true that Sir Gilbert Parker extracted a commendatory letter from Mr. Balfour, which is printed in the introduction to his book, The Land, the People, and the State, but the Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

letter is full of the characteristic reservations of which its writer is such a master. It is true also, I believe, that Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Austen Chamberlain have included in their platform speeches references to the need for land reform on a basis of ownership. From Lord Lansdowne, on the other hand, we have had not so much a declaration of what the official Unionist policy is, as what it is not, when he replied to me in the House of Lords that in his opinion it would be a great misfortune to the country to substitute for the present system of land tenure some vast system of land purchase under which every occupant of a farm might be converted into a small landlord.

But, after all, in spite of the traditional cold water which the official leaders of the Tory party always think it their duty to pour upon the projects of their more enthusiastic followers. I suppose it may be accepted that the Unionist party do propose, if and when they are responsible for the government of the country, to initiate a scheme of State-aid occupying ownership. Certainly the average voter is justified in his belief that the Unionist party believes in occupying ownership, while the Liberal party, which in this instance at least is the more truly conservative, believes that tenancy is the system best suited to the needs of agriculture in this country. In every rural constituency the emissaries of the Rural League and the rank and file of Tory speakers are hard at work promising the electors that, if they will return them to power, the same facilities as the State has given to Irish farmers will be extended to their English brethren, and that they are to be enabled to become their own landlords by annual payments which will be little, if at all, larger than their present rents. Farmers' clubs and Chambers of Agriculture all over the country are encouraged to pass resolutions in favour of Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill, and the small holders are told that, instead of being the tenants of a harsh and exacting landlord in the shape of the County Council, they are all to be converted into freeholders, enjoying the 'magic of property' under their own vine and their own fig-tree. Now all this is an extremely plausible and attractive picture, and it is worth while to consider whether there is any possibility of its realisation, and whether the basis of ownership on which it is to be created is really a sound foundation for agriculture in this country, or a desirable end, either from the point of view of the State or from that of the individual farmer or small holder.

#### THE IRISH ANALOGY

In the first place, it is necessary to say a few words about the alleged Irish analogy. It may be an effective rhetorical point for the platform to ask why the State should not assist English

farmers to purchase their holdings on the same terms as are given to Irish farmers, but such a question ignores entirely the fundamental differences in the conditions of the two countries. Ireland, owing to the fact that it was the practice for the tenants to do all the improvements, permanent as well as temporary, on their farms, a system had grown up, partly by custom and partly as a result of legislative enactments, under which the tenant acquired an interest in his holding far in excess of what was due to him for his improvements. Under the system of Free Sale, he obtained a saleable property in the right to the occupancy of his farm, which often amounted to as much as 5l. an acre, apart from ordinary tenant-right, as it is understood in England. The result was that incoming tenants were hopelessly burdened, landlords were reduced to mere rent-chargers with no responsibilities or obligations, and a perfect tangle of dual ownership grew up, which became so intolerable that the only solution was to buy out one of the parties. Accordingly the State came to the rescue, and by the gift of a sum of 12,000,000l. and a loan which will probably amount to 180,000,000l. the knot was cut, and the tenants are becoming the absolute owners of their holdings by payments extending over a period of sixty-eight and a-half years.

The position in this country is exactly the opposite. all the permanent improvements on agricultural land are made by The system of tenancy has not broken down, the the landlords. worst evils of dual ownership have been avoided, and there has been practically no demand for Free Sale. It is surely an extreme instance of the irony of fate that a policy, which has been largely the outcome of legislation consistently denounced by the Tory party for twenty years, should now be proposed to be applied to a country where the exceptional circumstances which were the only possible justification for its adoption in Ireland are conspicuous by their absence. If further evidence were needed of the false analogy of the Irish case, I would refer Mr. Collings and his friends to Lord Lansdowne, who is himself an Irish landlord intimately acquainted with the whole history of the question. Speaking in the House of Lords on the 7th of March last, he said : 'I quite agree that the Irish analogy is not one which can be pressed when you are talking of the system of land tenure in this country. As we all know, we have had in Ireland to pass through something like an agrarian revolution. We had to find Our legislation was, as I conceive, not very well devised in its earlier days; we had to find a way out, and we found one by resorting to State-aid land purchase. In Ireland, however, the agricultural system had broken down, while in this country it has not only not broken down, but it has been wonderfully successful, and it has been one which has tided landlord and tenant over an extremely anxious and difficult time. I for one should infinitely regret to see that system disappear entirely.'

In the face of the radical difference in the conditions of the two countries, it is surely nothing short of dishonest to delude English farmers into thinking that any Government is the least likely to propose to apply the Irish Land Purchase Acts to England. And yet we find Mr. J. L. Green, the Secretary of Mr. Jesse Collings' Rural League, asserting before Lord Haversham's Committee that 'whatever is good enough for the Government of the day to do for Ireland, the farmers of this country ought to have the same privileges.' Is it any wonder that as a result of this unscrupulous propaganda the Central Chamber of Agriculture, the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture. the Farmers' Club, and no fewer than 168 other Chambers of Agriculture and Farmers' Associations have passed resolutions in favour of Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill? I do not blame them, but it is difficult to speak with sufficient restraint of those who are deluding them with vain hopes. It is high time that English farmers were told definitely by the responsible leaders of the Unionist party that they have no intention of adopting Mr. Collings' Bill, if they wish to absolve themselves from complicity in the charge of obtaining votes under false pretences.

#### FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

But even if the position in this country was at all analogous to that in Ireland, financial considerations alone would present an impassable obstacle to any proposals for land purchase in England on similar lines to those adopted in Ireland. We have recently been told by Lord St. Aldwyn that there never was a piece of more unsound finance than the Irish Land Act of 1903. When that Act was discussed, we were told that the problem to be dealt with would represent a capital of something like 100,000,000l. This has proved to be a serious underestimate, and it is now agreed that not much less than 180,000,000l. will be required. and, further, it has been necessary to raise the annual instalment for principal and interest from 3\frac{1}{4} per cent. to 3\frac{1}{2} per cent., while the bonus, which was to have amounted to 12,000,000l., will probably reach 20,000,000l. The obligations under the Irish Act are already as much as, if not more than, the State can finance, and if a similar policy were initiated for this country, the amount involved would be increased sixfold. It is obvious that if the purchase instalments are not to exceed considerably the rents at present paid, the State would have to provide a bonus of at least 120,000,000l. for English landlords, for there is no reason to believe that the Tory party will induce the landlords to accept terms less favourable than those granted to their Irish confrères;

and the total amount of the loan for land purchase would not be less than 1,000,000,000l. It is the merest midsummer madness to dream that any responsible Government could adopt a policy which would mean not only a State grant of 120,000,000l. to a particular class, but also would hopelessly disorganise the money market for generations.

# MR. JESSE COLLINGS' BILL

It may be said that Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill only provides for the issue of 10,000,000l. for the purchase of their holdings by sitting tenants, but it must be remembered that in this matter it is the first step that counts. If the Government once embarked upon a policy of State-aided land purchase, it would be impossible to draw the line at 10,000,000l. and to refuse to the great majority of sitting tenants the facilities which had been afforded to a favoured few. Moreover, the advocates of the Bill do not pretend that it can be so limited. What they want is to get the principle accepted, and they display a touching innocence when the question of ways and means comes to be considered. Mr. Green told Lord Haversham's Committee that the Bill leaves it to the Government of the day to find the money, and under crossexamination he first suggested that the money should come from the same source as the Chancellor of the Exchequer gets money for old-age pensions from-namely, taxation-and then withdrew that answer in favour of a suggestion that a guaranteed land stock bearing interest at 3 or 31 per cent. might be issued. The whole of Mr. Green's evidence before the Committee is extremely instructive as an illustration of the 'sloppy' finance on which the Bill is founded.

#### LORD DUNMORE'S BILL

In addition to Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill, another proposal has been put forward, for which I understand Sir Gilbert Parker is largely responsible. I refer to Lord Dunmore's Small Ownership and National Land Bank Bill, which was introduced into the House of Lords last year. This Bill proposes to set up a National Land Bank with a nominal capital of 5,000,0001., and with power to issue debentures to the extent of 25,000,000l. bearing interest at 31 per cent. guaranteed by the Government. The Bank is to lend 80 per cent. of the value of the land to be purchased, charging 4 per cent. interest, to include sinking fund, and the County Councils are to be compelled to advance the remaining 20 per cent. on the security of a second mortgage. This Bill was pulverised by Lord Belper, speaking on behalf of the County Councils' Association, and by Lord Faber, on behalf of the bankers, and though it received the barren compliment of a second reading, nothing more has been heard of it.

#### CASH DEPOSITS

Before leaving this subject, there is one further point to which reference should be made, and that is the question of a cash deposit. It appears to be an essential part of the Unionist policy of land reform that the whole of the purchase money shall be advanced, and that no deposit should be required from the purchaser. It is true that this only follows the Irish precedent, but here again it is necessary to point out that the example of Ireland is irrelevant. What the State advances in Ireland is the value of the landlord's interest, which is very far from being the full value of the land. The value of the tenant's interest in Ireland is very much greater than is ever the case in England. It is probably never less than one-fourth of the value of the land, and in many cases it is as much as one-half, so that, although the purchasing tenant is not required to make any cash payment, the value of his interest in the land affords a good margin of security for the advance from the State of the whole of the value of the landlord's interest. In England the position is quite different, and it is very doubtful if any Government would feel justified in advancing the whole of the purchase price of a holding to the sitting tenant. The question has been considered by many Committees, including Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Select Committee on Small Holdings in 1889, Lord Onslow's Departmental Committee on Small Holdings in 1906, and Lord Haversham's Departmental Committee this year, and they have all agreed with practical unanimity that it is essential in the interests of the State to require some cash payment from a purchaser. If this is fully realised by the farmers and small holders, I am confident that we shall hear little more of the burning desire for ownership which we are told exists at present.

The truth is that the practical financial difficulties in the way of any large scheme of State-aided purchase, which shall be at the same time acceptable to the purchasing tenants and safe for the State, are insuperable. Farmers, quite rightly, will not look at any scheme which would lock up part of their working capital, or which would involve the payment of purchase instalments appreciably larger than their present rents; landowners, quite naturally, are not prepared to accept less than the market value of their property, and would probably object to being paid in bonds rather than in cash; and the State, quite obviously, ought not to be asked to provide out of the pockets of the taxpayers the money necessary to make up the difference between what the

farmers will pay and what the landowners will accept.

June

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
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# IS OCCUPYING OWNERSHIP DESIRABLE?

It may, however, be worth while to consider whether, supposing that some financial genius is successful in preparing a sound scheme of State-aided purchase, it would be to the advantage of the State as a whole, to the industry of agriculture, or to the individual farmer or small holder that it should be adopted. On this question there is much to be learnt from the experience of the past. At one time the number of occupying owners in this country was very considerable, but the great majority have disappeared owing to one of two causes, both of which are still operative. In a country like ours, where so much of the land has a value in excess of what it is worth as the raw material of agriculture, and where there is a demand for land on the part of men who are prepared to pay for the social and political amenities which its possession confers, the small freeholder was in the past, and will in the future be, tempted to sell by prices which will give him an income in excess of what he could obtain from the cultivation of the land. A large number of the old yeomen have been bought out in this way. A still larger number went under in the bad times of agricultural depression. The Royal Commission on Agriculture of 1893 reported that 'occupying owners, whether yeomen or small freeholders, are weighted with a burden of debt which places them, in such times as have been recently experienced, in a worse position than the tenant farmer,' and the evidence in support of this opinion is overwhelming.

To give only a few instances, the late Mr. S. B. L. Druce, the well-known Secretary of the Farmers' Club, expressed the opinion that the tenant farmer is in a better position as a farmer than the occupying owner. Mr. John Treadwell said 'the occupying owner is worse off than any other class of farmer.' Mr. Clare Sewell Read said 'yeomen have been hit hardest of all: they have had to bear both the losses of the landlord and the losses of the tenant'; and Mr. Wilson Fox reported that 'the general conditions of the small freeholders in the East of Lincolnshire is that they are working like slaves to earn interest for moneylenders.'

#### THE OBJECT OF THE STATE

From the point of view of the State, it is no exaggeration to say that occupying ownership is the worst possible system. It is one that contains within itself the seeds of decay, and nothing is more certain than that as soon as it is established, the occupying owner will tend to disappear and the old process of consolidation of estates will begin again. It cannot be sound policy for the State to risk its credit for the promotion of a system which will be only temporary, and will require to be done all over again in

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri the course of a generation or so. So far as small holdings are concerned, the important thing for the State is to proceed on lines which will ensure not only their creation, but their preservation, and for this purpose a system of tenancy under a public authority is far more effectual than any system of ownership. Wilkins has pointed out, 'if small holdings are offered to the agricultural community on the basis of ownership, machinery must continually be available to replace those which rapidly disappear at the other end of the process. It will not have been done once for all. As fast as one estate is cut up, large farm-houses divided, fences erected, we must expect to see, as we are seeing now, hedgerows levelled and two houses thrown into one.' On the other hand, a system of tenancy under a public authority guarantees that the land, so long as it is wanted for small holdings, will always be occupied by genuine small holders. The picture that is drawn by the advocates of ownership of the peasant proprietor handing on his property to his descendants to the third and fourth generation is a very idyllic one, but, unfortunately, it does not correspond with the facts. I am quite certain that there are far more cases of long-continued occupation of a holding by the same family among tenants than among occupying owners. I am told that in one large parish of 12,000 acres in the Eastern counties there are only two cases in which a small freehold has remained in the possession of the same family during the last forty years, and it is a complete delusion to suppose that, if you set up a system of small ownership with the help of the State, the descendants of the original purchaser will necessarily continue to carry on the cultivation of the land after his death.

#### DISASTROUS TO AGRICULTURE

Further, is there any reason to believe that it would be to the advantage of the agricultural industry as a whole to promote a system of occupying ownership? It is notorious that on most small freeholds little or nothing is spent on repairs, and the houses and buildings are inferior and dilapidated; while there is no reason to think that the land will produce more under a system of occupying ownership than under a system of landlord and tenant. The Richmond Commission of 1879-1882 reported as follows:

Changes have indeed been suggested with a view to encourage the establishment of a peasant proprietary. While we deem it highly expedient to facilitate and cheapen the transfer of land, we are of opinion that no special facilities should be given to stimulate the artificial growth of a system which appears to be ill adapted to the habits of the people or to the condition of agriculture in this country.

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The Welsh Land Commission, of which I was Chairman, were of opinion that 'the agricultural industry is likely to be carried on more profitably upon a well-regulated system of tenancy than by yeomen proprietors,' and they added that 'the multiplication of small agricultural owners is not an advantage in the general interests, and in the long run it tends to lower the standard of comfort and to oppose obstacles to progress in every direction.' Mr. James Macdonald, the Secretary of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, in his excellent pamphlet on Systems of Land Tenure, says 'it is indeed the firm conviction of the writer that the extensive conversion of the tenant farmer system into occupying ownership would end in disaster to British agriculture.' Mr. Anker Simmons, a land agent of large experience, in a paper read before the Farmers' Club, said that in his opinion 'it will be a bad day for English agriculture and those who are engaged in it if the old system of landlord and tenant is abolished in favour of a return to that of occupying ownership.' Such quotations might be multiplied indefinitely, and in view of the fact that under our traditional system of landlord and tenant we have succeeded in obtaining a larger return of agricultural produce per acre than is the case in any other country, and that our live stock is acknowledged to be the best in the world, he is a bold man who can maintain that better results would be obtained under a system of occupying ownership.

## USELESS TO FARMERS

From the point of view of the individual farmer or small holder, the objections to ownership are manifold. It is important to remember that it is the use of the land that the farmer wants, not its ownership, and it is undeniable that capital employed in the cultivation of land returns a much higher rate of interest than capital employed in its ownership. Mr. James Macdonald states that the return a landlord obtains from the ownership of agricultural land rarely exceeds 3 per cent.; but no farmer would be satisfied unless he obtained a return from his capital of 8 or even 10 per cent., and it is economically unsound to devote any part of the capital which should be utilised in the working of the farm to acquiring the freehold. It may be said that Mr. Collings' Bill would not require the farmer to lock up any of his capital in this way, but I have already given reasons for thinking that no Government would be justified in dispensing altogether with any cash payment. Further, occupying ownership is an actual impediment in the way of a man who aspires Under a system of tenancy the utmost mobility is obtained, and a man can move from one holding to another with Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the least possible inconvenience and expense. Under the ownership system he must find a purchaser for his holding, he has to accept the market price of the day, and he may be able to move only by sacrificing a considerable part of the capital he has sunk in his holding. Mr. Anker Simmons in the paper to which I have already referred said that he could not call to mind a single case of a man who purchased his farm ever adding to it, and I have no doubt that his experience would be confirmed by most large land agents. On the other hand, numerous instances can be given of men who began as tenants of a few acres, who have gradually increased their occupations till they are now farming hundreds and even thousands of acres. For the small holder in particular tenancy offers far greater advantages than ownership. One of the principal objects in providing small holdings is to supply an agricultural ladder, so that a man who begins by making a success of a small allotment may gradually rise, until he becomes the tenant of a large farm. What is wanted is an elastic system which will suit the needs of each man at different periods, so that he can increase his occupation, if necessary, when his family is growing up, and reduce it again when they are in a position to take separate holdings for themselves.

#### MORTGAGING AND SUBDIVISION

The facilities which a system of ownership offers for mortgaging and excessive subdivision are obvious, and even if restrictions are imposed to prevent this during the period while the small holders are paying the instalments on their purchase money, they cannot be retained when the loan has been paid off. In the words of Lord MacDonnell, 'the process is this: first there is a period of prosperity with a rise in the standard of comfort; then follows indebtedness, slight at first, but ever growing with the facilities which are readily afforded by the usurer. Next comes mortgages, and then comes subdivision and sale to meet the mortgagees' claim. Finally comes the crash, and the grandson of the peasant proprietor becomes the tenant on his former patrimony, while the usurer becomes the rackrenting landlord, a landlord of a far worse type than any which Ireland has presented in the past.' If the secrets locked up in the lawyers' offices of the provincial towns could be revealed, we should find that in numberless instances the lawyers themselves were the only people who have benefited from the system of occupying ownership.

Another serious objection to ownership arises in the case of the death of the owner, which in the great majority of cases

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri involves either the sale of the land, in which case it may disappear as a small holding, or its subdivision among his family, with the result that a number of uneconomic holdings are created, none of which are large enough to support the holder.

## THE MAGIC OF PROPERTY

The advocates of ownership are very fond of quoting Arthur Young's famous saying that the 'magic of property will turn a desert into a garden and sand into gold,' though they forget another saying of his that 'it is unprofitable to farm a small property as owner instead of renting a large one from another person.' But apart from the fact that the 'misery of mortgage' may, and often does, entirely destroy 'the magic of property,' it must be pointed out that the choice is not between tenancy and absolute ownership, but between tenancy and a strictly limited and restricted form of ownership. None of the occupying owners created by any system of State-aided purchase can expect to be in the position or to have the privileges of ordinary landowners during their own lifetime. All they can hope is that at the end of a period extending over some sixty to eighty years, their sons, or more probably their grandsons, will enter into the full fruits of ownership. Under the Irish Land Act the tenant proprietor cannot subdivide his holding or sublet or devise it to more than one person, and he cannot raise a mortgage on it for more than ten times the purchase annuity. Under the purchase provisions of the English Small Holdings Act, subdivision and subletting are prohibited, the holding may not be used for any other than agricultural purposes, not more than one house may be erected on it, and that only with the consent of the County Council; and, in certain circumstances, the Council may order the holding to be sold to them or to another person. Can it be seriously maintained that such restricted ownership offers any greater incentive to industry and enterprise than security of tenure at a fair rent under a public body?

## OCCUPYING OWNERSHIP ABROAD

Sir Gilbert Parker and his friends seek, however, to justify their policy by an appeal to the experience of foreign countries, and it may, therefore, be desirable to point out that a candid and impartial examination of the conditions abroad affords little encouragement to us to reproduce those conditions here. In France we are told, on the authority of M. Leconteux, Professor of Rural Economy at the Institute, that of the 8,000,000 proprietors in that country, 3,000,000 are on the pauper roll, while of the remainder 600,000 were so poor that they were only able

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri to pay five centimes each as their contribution to the State. He says 'getting rid of one order of landlords and their rents, they have subjected themselves to another, though invisible order, the mortgagees, and to their heavier and more rigid rents.'

M. Lafargue in his Relèvement de l'Agriculture says that 'the condition of agriculture brought about by our subdivision of land and the distance from each other of the morsels belonging to one owner, condemn a man to work such as animals and machines ought to execute, and not only reduce him to the level of a beast, but curse the soil with sterility.' Mr. Rowland Prothero writes that the French proprietor is 'worse housed and worse fed than the English labourer. His cottage is generally a single room with a mud floor, in which he and his family and his live stock live, eat, sleep and die. From morning till night his toil is excessive and prolonged; female labour is the rule; children are continuously employed, while his little property is often mortgaged. A. Young talks of the magic of property; but there is such a thing as the demon of property. The French peasant, in his desire to add to the little property, hoards and then mortgages his property to buy more, and is often thus prevented from cultivating what he has to the best advantage. Speak to a French peasant proprietor, and I have spoken to many of them, and he will at once tell you of the hardness of his lot, of the pinching and scraping which is necessary to keep the little land together, and of the constant anxiety of his life.'

In Italy, under a system of peasant proprietors, we are told by the Times that 'the growth of debt, want of credit, scarcity of labour-brought about by emigration-the ruin and gradual disappearance of peasant proprietors, all causes which act and react upon each other, have conduced to a state of things which grows increasingly worse each year'; and Baron Sonnino says agriculture is perishing, the country is being depopulated, losing the most healthy and vigorous of its labourers, and the portion of the rural population which does not seek exile plunges deeper in misery every day.' Even in Denmark, which is supposed to be the paradise of the small holder, we are told by Mr. E. A. Pratt that 'though nominally the peasant proprietors who constitute so important a section of the Danish people are freeholders, practically they are saddled with a mortgage debt estimated at 60,000,000l., and representing 55 per cent. of the value of their farms, with buildings, stock and implements'; and the Scottish Agricultural Commission reported that the occupying owners of Denmark were, as a rule, little better off than a good ploughman on a Scotch farm.

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CONCLUSION

The truth is that the advocates of ownership are more concerned with the political than the economic aspect of the question. They are in favour of using State credit to establish a body of occupying owners who will form a 'bulwark against Socialism' and a useful addition to the ranks of Tory voters. They are also influenced by the fact that their Tariff Reform policy offers little, if any, benefit to the agricultural interest. They have, therefore, cast about for a land policy which is to be the country cousin of Tariff Reform, and which they hope will be the sugar coating to induce the agricultural voter to swallow the bitter pill of Protection.

The only persons who would benefit from the establishment of a system of occupying ownership by means of State credit would be the present race of landlords, owing to the fact that sitting tenants endowed with the loan of public money on easy terms would naturally give a larger price for their holdings than any other purchaser; and I am certain that there must be many members of the Unionist party who regard with great misgivings the adoption of a policy which is not wanted, which is alien to the traditional system of this country, which is opposed by practically every non-political student of the question, and which would open the door to a huge amount of land jobbing

with public money.

What the farmer really needs is security of tenure. the policy of the Liberal party, and every attempt to carry it out is met by the persistent opposition of the Tories. They fought compensation for disturbance in the Land Tenure Bill of 1906 with the same vigour and with the same lack of success that they have opposed every step in the direction of increased security for farmers. Now the time has come for a further advance. Government propose to give farmers whose holdings are sold the right to claim an extended notice, enabling them to remain in their farms for two years at least from the date of the notice to guit, which will go far to mitigate the hardship incurred in those cases where a farmer has to leave his farm within a few months of the sale of the estate. Personally, I look forward to the day when every tenant farmer shall be entitled to claim that any dispute with his landlord as to the rent paid for his holding shall be settled by arbitration; and when every agreement for the letting of a farm shall contain a clause allowing the tenant to vote as he likes, to pray where he likes, and, subject to reasonable covenants, to farm as he likes, and providing that no notice to quit should be given on account of difference of political or religious opinions.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

#### PAULINE DE BEAUMONT

Some Frenchwomen are typical of an age, an art, a movement. La Reine Margot sums up the splendid, generous, non-moral, spacious-minded Renaissance. The Grande Mademoiselle, that great Rubens figure, with her helmet and her floating scarlet draperies, her clouds and spears and cupids, thrones it above her generation. Madame de Staël on the one hand, and Madame Roland on the other, embody the French Revolution—its ceaseless talkativeness, its eloquence, its violent self-absorption, its remorseless logic; Madame Récamier, with her genius for listening and her unerring mental sympathies, was the soul of the Salon; and there are other women, the most attractive-subtler beings, half forgotten-who are found off the high-road loved by literary tourists and history-trippers, and strewn with their papers (or ought we to say documents?)-figures that linger in the by-paths of history and are known but to a few. These few love them. Charles Lamb says that the name of Michael Drayton has a finer relish to his ear than that of Shakespeare. And this personal touch it is that we feel in our relations with those beings of the past whom we have made our own. Such a figure-more so almost than perhaps any other—is that of Pauline de Beaumont, the woman who loved Chateaubriand and was, for a space, beloved of him; the friend of Joubert, the critic and confidente of André Chénier and of Madame de Staël; the centre of the knot of distinguished men and women who gathered round her between 1799 and 1802 in her little salon of the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, where, for the last two years, Chateaubriand reigned supreme. She had lived through the French Revolution, had lived through it against her will, for that awful earthquake had taken every near relation she had. It ruined her health, it destroyed her faith, it darkened her soul, it may be said to have shortened her life.

She only lived for thirty-five years. And she had about her the fitful melancholy, the kind of elusive grace, of one who was destined to spread her wings early—whose foot hardly learned to tread the earth. Her friends called her 'the Swallow,' and there was indeed something light and intangible about her, something that, living in the cold, did not forget the sun, longed for it, made for it, never reached it. Hers was an intimate charm, unsuited

to the big world—the charm also of a character of contrasts delicately interwoven: passion and calm, ardour and unbelief, tenderness and bitterness, playful serenity and heart-searching tragedy. There is something arresting in a young woman whose favourite books were Plato's Phaedo, Voltaire's Letters, Tristram Shandy, and the History of Port Royal. 'I like,' she said, 'the mind to be a Jansenist, and the heart just a little bit of a Molinist.' At one moment she seems quite simple; turn over the page and she baffles you. A friend, a poet, once gave her a seal engraved with an oak. 'A nothing agitates me, but nothing shakes me' were the words that he put upon it, and she kept them as her motto.

Pauline de Montmorin was born in 1768, the same year in which, a few months later, René de Chateaubriand also saw the light. Pauline's father came of the old family of the St. Hérems, one of whom, the Governor of Auvergne, had refused to carry out Charles the Ninth's orders to massacre the Huguenots at the time of St. Bartholomew's Eve.

M. de Montmorin, Pauline's father, was no unworthy descendant of the Governor. He was a man of some importance in his own day-rather as the ally of brilliant men than as a light on his own account. He was the great friend of Lafayette, the colleague of Necker and Mirabeau, a strong Royalist, who saw clearly the foibles of royalties. He succeeded Vergennes as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the palmy days of Louis the Sixteenth, and held for a time one of the chief aristocratic salons of Paris, aristocratic in the sense of a day (say 1787) when aristocrats were themselves evoking the abstract ideas, which later, put in practice, were to kill them; when they could not get on without men of letters; when they worshipped philosophy-or perhaps philosophers-a day of half-dead faith and a science only half born, when there was no touchstone for truth, when superstitions were taken for religion, and Mesmer became a high priest; when, indeed, the world seemed but just to have turned twenty, and to regard every subject as open to discussion. They believed all things, or, rather, all things that they did not disbelieve-which comes to much the same thing, for they disbelieved so ardently that their disbeliefs amounted to convictions. They believed in creeds, in common sense, in the existence of poverty. They believed in Fraternity, in Equality, in themselves, in Sensibility and Reason. and a Return to Nature and the Perfectibility of Matter. almost believed in their own permanence upon the earth. day Condorcet, surrounded by a group of Encyclopaedists and ladies, among them Pauline de Beaumont, worked himself up till in a flow of eloquence he had all but proved that science would conquer death and ensure eternal life here to men. 'Of what use

would that be,' asked a lady, 'unless there were eternal youth also?' Her comment was more of an epigram than she knew. Big conceptions and light-heartedness held divided sway over the years before the Revolution. Yet they were not the peasant-hunting, brocaded villains of tradition, these nobles. Many of them were high-minded men with lofty aims and limited imaginations, blind to the evils of absenteeism from their estates and guilty of little more than the fault which has so often ruined their nation—enslavement to the charms of Paris, the sacrifice to Paris of France.

It was among men of this higher stamp that Pauline de Beaumont moved when she came home from her convent school. Moderate Monarchists, philosophical politicians, idealists of all sorts frequented the Montmorin Salon. There was a good sprinkling of pamphleteers and economists, chief among them the fiery little free-trading Abbé Morellet, with his brand-new theories about the corn laws. There was more than a sprinkling of the highest rank, for Madame de Montmorin was lady-in-waiting to Mesdames the aunts of the King. And there were poets-Alfieri, the silent, and André Chénier, the dreamer of freedom; and celebrated ladies-Charles Edward's widow, Madame d'Albany, and the ubiquitous Madame de Staël, and a dozen others. With these and their coruscations we are not concerned, except as they circled round the frail form in their midst. In later years Joubert compared Pauline to a little figure from Pompeii, so light that she seemed to float above the earth. She had no beauty, but a subtle intelligence gave a strange piquancy to her face.

Madame de Beaumont's countenance [wrote Chateaubriand in later days] was rather plain than pretty. It was worn and pale; her eyes, shaped like almonds, would perhaps have sent forth too much brilliance, had not an extraordinary gentleness half veiled her glances, making them shine languidly.

It is not surprising to hear that the owner of looks such as these was fastidious. To very few among her father's guests did she give her intimacy: only to one woman, the tempestuous Madame de Stael, whom all women adored—unless they hated her. To no more than two among the men: to her cousin, guide, philosopher and lifelong friend François de Pange, a philosophical thinker, a kind of Arthur Hallam of his day; and to the doomed poet, André Chénier, already, for us, overshadowed by the guillotine, so near and so unsuspected; the poet who made her at once the confidante of his love affairs and the critic of his poems to the lady. She cared with a kind of passion for his lyrics. In after times she could repeat them page after page by heart to Joubert. But her admiration did not blind her. She possessed, indeed, from the outset the critical gift—the gift of vision; of the true enthusiasm

which sees farthest and sees most sincerely. Beaumarchais, after reading out his play, La Mère Coupable, in a certain salon where she appeared between de Pange and Chénier, singled out her comments from those of the rest of the audience. Her judgment, he said, was more delicate than his own, though he did not think her taste as good.

Meanwhile, in 1787, Pauline had married, or rather her parents had married her, to the Comte de Beaumont, a young man of eighteen known for his bad morals. How such a choice was possible to affectionate and well-principled parents remains one of those problems that we can only solve by relegating them to 'the standards of the times.' The experiment was not a success. In a few days Pauline found out her mistake, and in a few weeks she left her husband and returned to her father's roof. What happened exactly we do not know, but when de Beaumont tried to claim her, Montmorin threatened him with a lettre de cachetthat remedy for little family frictions which, alone of the abuses of the old régime, we cannot help rather regretting—and the threat proved effectual. In 1800, Pauline divorced him, and he married again, and only died in 1851. She became her father's secretary, and her existence flowed on evenly. The family life of the Montmorins was happy, broken by one tragic grief, the death by drowning of Auguste, Pauline's sailor brother. His last act had been to send to her, his pride, some rare stuff for a ball dress: it came too late, and she put it by—as she said, for her shroud. This was her first sorrow. She had worse before her.

The fatal year 1789, so big with high hopes and unknown perils, dawned like other years. It was an important one for Montmorin. From first to last he strove for the monarchy and tried to save the King. He and Mirabeau worked together; when Mirabeau died Montmorin threw in his lot with Lally Tollendal and Malouet and the group of men circling round them. signed the passports for the flight to Varennes—he was arrested tried—mysteriously acquitted. But he would not take precautions. His house continued to be a meeting-place for Royalists, and the moment came when he received a secret warning that he was to be taken, that his home was not safe for his family. Pauline, her mother, her young brother, Calixte, her married sister, the Vicomtesse de Luzerne, fled hastily to Rouen; Montmorin hid himself in Paris. He was suspected of plotting with Austria-he had quarrelled with Camille Desmoulins-his fate Tender agonised notes from Pauline found him. was sealed. notes in disguised language through which one still seems to hear the throbs of fear and misery. Then came the worst, and he was re-arrested. It was the devotion of his landlady, who would feed him upon dainties and provide him with chickens every day, that

made him suspect as an aristocrat and brought about the catastrophe. He was imprisoned, he was massacred by the awful pikes of September. His family, meanwhile, had taken refuge, first on their country estate of Theil in Burgundy, then at a friend's house near by, at Passy-sur-Yonne. Here they remained concealed for more than a year, and it was here that they, too, were seized. When the cart drove up to carry them to Paris and the officials came to Pauline, she looked so white that they feared she might be ill and burdensome, and they refused to take her. But she begged so hard to go with her family that at last they gave in and let her stay with the rest. Not for long—her pallor grew alarming, and they would not be troubled. They put her out upon the snowy road, not far from Passy, and rolled on relentlessly. It was thus, from the frozen wayside, that she saw the last of those she loved.

Somehow, by what means she never knew, she dragged herself painfully along till she reached a peasant's hut in the next village to Passy-sur-Yonne. Its inhabitants, the Paquereaus, a kindly honest man and wife, took her in. Here, in the squalid hut, she lived for months, in a kind of apathy, too ill to do more than drag herself from bed to fire and back again, selling the few jewels she had with her to buy food, keeping sane with the help of the two or three books which, characteristically, she had contrived to save in the hurry of her flight. Here it was that she learned the fate of her dear ones: the death of her sister from fever on the eve of execution, the end of the rest, her brother Calixte wearing the blue ribbon of his lady-love as he waited for the all-devouring guillotine. It took nearly every member of that happy circle of the Montmorins, excepting François de Pange and Madame de Small wonder that Pauline prayed to die. 'Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery and life unto the bitter of These were the words that all that winter, indeed to her life's end, she constantly repeated to herself, finding relief in the age-worn cry of Job, who had borne like sorrows so long ago.

But Pauline de Beaumont was young, and she did not know that life still held for her her best moments, her keenest

experience.

It was at the door of the Paquereaus' cottage that Joseph Joubert found her one day in the summer of that fatal year, 1794. He brought all her future with him—the two feelings which were to dominate the next ten years: her friendship with him—the calming influence, the repose of her spirit; and later, by his means, her introduction to Chateaubriand, the disturber—the joy, the woe, the centre of her existence.

Joubert, who lived at Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, a short way from Passy, had heard of the lady at the Paquereaus'. He

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotti came to pay his respects and proffer assistance. He and his wife begged her to come and stay with them. She went; she

was again warmed into life.

It might be well, before going farther, to get some little notion of Joubert. Some of my readers probably know him, through his Pensées-more, perhaps, through the pen of Matthew Arnold, to whose serene, Hellenic spirit that of Joubert bore certain close affinities. But Joubert was narrower, deeper, more perfect-his irony had a less accomplished, a more childlike gaiety than that of Arnold. 'The mind of Plato with the heart of La Fontaine,' was Chateaubriand's description of Joubert. And his appearance expressed him. A lady once said: 'A soul accidentally met a body and did its best with it: that made Joubert.' He was exquisite rather than forcible, an invalid, a fastidious lover of beauty without and within, a dweller in books, a religious thinker, unconventional but orthodox, practical more than mystical, loving Pascal and Plato, but hating Kant and Voltaire as he hated the devil. He asked much of life and he asked little: nothing of its intolerable pleasures, few things of its externals, many things of the soul. For he demanded harmony rather than strength, distinction than effect. He distrusted action; he made being into an art-this soul, half ancient, half modern, this devout Athenian, whose gentleness was so witty, who knew no excesses but those of the heart. I believe that it belongs to French soil to produce this sober, sensitive kind of plant. Sobriety is not tameness, but in England Joubert would have been tame. Even Cowper, with his delicate charm, a little like that of Joubert, is tame now and then-at tea-time. But in France there is a kind of natural decorum which carries dignity. Joubert lived surrounded by women. He married his wife chiefly because she was so good to her mother. He took care of his health, was, indeed, a valetudinarian who 'changed his diet every day, now had himself jolted at a quick trot on rough roads, now dragged at the slowest pace on smooth ones. He lay in bed in a rose-coloured spencer. In England these things would seem absurd; in Joubert, far from being so, they conveyed the quintessence of suavity and distinction. To me, indeed, the thought of that rose-coloured garment transmits the fine flavour of conversation, the very exquisiteness of intellectual déshabillé, of a delicate and discriminating amenity.

He had [said Chateaubriand] an extraordinary hold upon the mind and the heart, and when once he had captured you, his image was there like a fact, like an obsession which you could not chase away. He laid claim, above all, to calm, and nobody was so agitated as he. . . . His friends were for ever coming and disturbing the precautions he had taken to be well, for he could not help being moved by their sadness or their joy; he was an egotist who only busied himself about others.

And, like Pauline de Beaumont, he was a born critic, a born appreciator of life, of men, of books. He passed into them; he was a perfect friend, whether of ideas or human beings, put off by few things in them, except by offences against his taste, by glibness, or violence, or any irritation. But, as all his judgments stand recorded in his journal of thoughts and maxims—his Pensées—we can perhaps give no better portrait of him than by quoting a few which seem most characteristic:

We ought to know how to enter into other people's ideas, and how to get away from them—just as we should know how to get away from our own ideas and how to come home to them.

When certain folk enter into our ideas, they enter a stuffy little shed. In talk, passion, the vehement, should always be the lady-in-waiting of the sovereign Intellect, which is ever serene.

'Wear velvet inside you, and try to give pleasure at every hour of your life.'

'Energy is not strength. Some authors have more muscle than they have talent.'

'No delicacy, no literature.'

'When we write with facility, we always believe that we have more talent than is there. Good writing means natural facility and self-taught difficulty.'

I should like to make the sense of the exquisite pass into common sense, or else to make the sense of the exquisite common.

To think, to feel one's soul, this is true life. All the rest, eating, drinking, what not, although I give them their full due, are no more than the accessories of living.

At the time that Joubert discovered Pauline he had rather sunk into humdrum, and his imagination needed colour and stimulus. She supplied both; she became the romance of his days. And his practical wife loved her hardly less than he did. The friendship ripened rapidly. He lent her his books-it was very like him that he marked his favourite passages by little stars and flowers on the margin. Other works, those of Condillac and Kant and Voltaire, he forbade her. ('God keep me from ever possessing a complete Voltaire,' he said.) He tried to soothe and heal and strengthen her mind, to lead it back gently to faith, to draw forth the powers he so believed in-to divert her from grief and charm her again into life. They read together, they felt the same enchantment over Yorick and Tristram Shandy and La Bruyère. He studied Plato with her, he made her love Massillon and Malebranche, and they both delighted in Voltaire's Letters, which were not included in the general condemnation.

If God would give me life [he says], and would grant my eyes the good luck to hap upon the bargains that I wish for, I should not need more than three weeks to get together all the books that I think worthy of a place, not in your library, but in your innermost alcove. If I am successful in finding them, it seems to me that I shall have nothing left to do upon this planet.

The influence was by no means from one side only. She also drew forth the best from him, she enhanced his sense of enjoyment. 'M. de Pange,' he said, 'wants one to walk, and I like to fly, or, at any rate, to flutter. Directly I think of you my little gnat's-wings leave me no peace.' His devotion was not blind: he could rally her for her despondency and her restless impatience.

I am very glad [he wrote, for if they did not meet daily he wrote to her], I am very glad to inform you that I cannot admire you comfortably, or respect you as I wish, until I see in you the finest courage of all, the courage to be happy.

In the depths of your being [he says elsewhere] you keep a treasure of rich thoughts and true judgments; but you would rather fling them on the ground and let them roll away than use them profitably. When you think, you amuse yourself too much with thought, and so you often lose its best delights.

But it was lassitude, rather than want of concentration, that weakened Pauline's powers. She needed a motive and a refuge—she needed a faith; and she had the fastidious aesthetic sense which, no less than the ascetic instinct, impels men to austerity. 'Do you know,' she says, 'that if Port Royal still existed, I should run the risk of rushing off there?' Past and future, old and new, alike attracted her. Plato seemed to her of yesterday, the *Phaedo* became her stand-by.

If I were better versed in the ancients [she writes] I could determine with more precision what it is that is so modern in the *Phaedo*; when nothing guides me in my decision I attribute . . . what I like to Plato.

She became more and more dependent upon Joubert. 'If I had someone to endow,' she exclaimed later, 'I would give him your mind, your character, your wife and your whole household.' They paid each other occasional long visits. Her room has been swept three times, it is at last worthy to receive her and her migraine; she must come and watch the vintage; his little boy no longer believes him about foxes and pole-cats, he will only believe her; she must certainly reassure him. Such were his wiles to keep her away from Paris, the wilderness of desolation. But in 1795, after Robespierre's death, she felt herself obliged to go there to try to reclaim some of her property. All was worse than she thought. She went to her old home and found nothing left but the cypress-tree she had planted when she was fourteen: that alone remained alive among the ruins. Meanwhile the De Panges got back their estate at Passy-sur-Yonne, near Joubert, and she made her home with them; first with both. then, later, when De Pange had died from the effects of his imprisonment in the Terror, with his widow; later still she

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri found shelter in her old house at Theil, though it was never formally restored to her.

Again she took up her life with Joubert. It was like him that he should live in a place which, as he said, had escaped all the horrors of the Revolution. Pauline regained peace, excepting when it was destroyed by the reappearance of Madame de Staël -the inroads of the 'Whirlwind,' as they called her. Joubert, until Corinne was published, admired her, so he said, more than any woman in print except Madame de Sévigné, but he highly disapproved of the friendship. 'Enthusiasm, not explosion,' was what he wanted, and Corinne was explosion. Pauline herself refused to have her in the green room. She said that the 'Whirlwind' would devastate its quiet; she preferred to meet her at Sens, where, of course, the lady did not turn up. had all the peculiarities of genius: she never kept appointments; at least she kept them-in a different place at a different time; she was never tired, she never knew when other people were. She was gloriously full of life and light and fire, also of loveaffairs and wounded sensibilities. She came, she talked, she conquered. Sometimes she brought her rather fatigued lover, Benjamin Constant, in her wake, sometimes she did not. Pauline could not bear him, and he even caused an estrangement between them, which was a relief to Joubert. But it was not for long; Corinne really cared for Pauline: 'All my roots-are bound up in her,' she said. She returned, and the front of her offending was the manner in which she carried Pauline off to Paris. Joubert thought that it demoralised his friend—as it did. 'I have resumed my solitude in a temper,' she wrote to him. when she came back from one such journey, 'I occupy myself with disgust, I walk without pleasure, I dream without charm, and I cannot find one comforting idea. I know this state cannot last long, but youth passes . . . Of course you will accuse me of reading Young's Night Thoughts at the least. Not a bit of it, I am reading Tristram Shandy. Behold the fruits.'

Perhaps it was his dread of the Whirlwind's power which made Joubert renounce all his cherished habits and with his family migrate for part of every year to Paris. He took a house in the Rue St. Honoré, near that already taken by Pauline in the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg. From 1799 onwards, there gathered round her here, in the shabbily-furnished, dimly lighted little apartment, the rarest minds of the day. There were other and more brilliant salons to outshine it; Madame Joseph Bonaparte and Madame Tallien were reigning, and so was Madame Récamier; the Princess de Poix, and Madame d'Houdetot represented the old world of letters. 'But the little salon of Madame de Beaumont, by no means celebrated, only haunted by a handful of the faithful

who met there every night, meant youth, liberty, movement, the new spirit, including the past, reconciling it with the future,' I quote these last words from Sainte-Beuve. For myself, I own that this little band of people, so secluded and distinguished and disinterested and warm, has a peculiar charm. I feel as if I knew them-as if I had a right to know them. Some of them had a touch of genius; all were serious, as befitted men who were recreating society out of death and ruin. And nearly all were witty. 'Simple they were too,' says Chateaubriand, 'not from poverty but from choice.' Their very names bring a touch of intimacy. There was Fontanes, the crusty conservative, the fierce classic, the critic and the poet; and Matthieu Molé, the Cato of twenty; and the brilliant ultramontane, Bonald; and the handsome dilettante. Guéncau de Mussy: and the rich old banker, Julien, who fussed over Pauline's comforts; and Pasquier, later Chancellor, the Pasquier of the memoirs. And then there was Joseph Chénedollé. It may be said that in most social circles there is a familiar figure, dowdily dressed, a person devoted to the interests of the others, who is loved by everybody and by whom nobody is excited. Such was Chénedollé, the kindly laborious poet, the unflagging hero-worshipper. He gave a lifelong loveunreturned—to Chateaubriand's sister, Lucile. Pale, sensitive. exotic, unhinged by the prisons of the Terror, finally doomed to a madhouse, she strays in her ghostly beauty in and out of Pauline's salon. And there were other ladies: Madame de Vintimille, to whom Joubert always gave tube roses on her birthday: and Madame Pastoret; and Madame de Staël; and Madame Krüdner, the précieuse among the mystics; and the Duchesse de Duras, the fashionable novelist. They all had nicknames. Pauline, we know, was the Swallow; Fontanes, the Wild Boar of Erymanthus: Chénedollé, the Raven of Vire; Mussy, the Little Raven; while the gracious gossip, Madame de Vintimille, was Madame Bad Heart; and Madame de Staël was Leviathan. They met every day, these friends-indeed, Chénedollé was not satisfied, in later days, unless he was saw Chateaubriand twice a day. The worst of them was that they could not exist without each other; they found the country unbearable. "Deplorable Zion, where is thy glory?'-so Pauline, quoting, Racine, apostrophised Paris when they were absent.

The footlights were lighted—the audience was there—all waited for the hero. He appeared in 1800, and his name was

François René de Chateaubriand.

Some men are born histrionic. René, from his babyhood till his death, played a drama. The hero was himself—the villain was himself—the stage was his heart, or his soul. The hero and the villain acted their parts brilliantly, sincerely, and they were con-

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri stantly rolled into one. As for the heroines, they were numberless. The first act of this wonderful play should be read in the fascinating first volume of the *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*, which tells of his dreamy, sensational childhood and youth by the sea-shore of St. Malo. When the Revolution broke out he was just twenty-one, beautiful to look at, an Apollo of the Weltschmerz period: almost too beautiful—the brow a thought too noble, the eye and the mouth rather too eloquent.

He did not wait to be arrested. He resolved to depart. He was full of large aims and aspirations, and so he started for the New World, in order to discover the North-West Passage. When he landed he made a few rapid inquiries as his way there, but finding the answers unsatisfactory, he changed the object of his quest and went off to find la Muse in South America. Here he saw Red Indians, and chasms, and precipices, and solitude. I deliberately say he saw solitude, because he made it into a solid fact; and though Rousseau had discovered it before him, it was Chateaubriand who first arranged a marriage between Solitude and Religion. In 1791, choke-full of ideas, he returned to his sisters at St. Malo. Unfortunately they were bent upon his marriage with a friend of theirs. One day he saw a young lady in a pink pelisse walking by the sea, her fair hair blown by the wind. The hair and the pelisse raised a storm of emotion; he married her out of hand. He never had cause to regret it. She had many causes, in pelisses of many colours. No sooner had he married her than he left her to join the Army of the Thence he travelled to Jersey, and from there, rather later, to England, where he stayed till the Revolution was over. In London, in a Soho garret, he starved and scribbled, picking up a living as he could—by teaching and writing, chiefly by working as a journalist for a French editor, Lepelletier. It was Lepelletier who introduced him to Fontanes, then also in England. It was Fontanes, the Wild Boar of Erymanthus, who sighted his genius; who, thrilled by him, went home unable to talk of anybody else; who finally introduced him to the expectant world of Pauline de Beaumont's salon. It adopted him at once; he became its idol, its 'Big Raven,' its 'Young Savage'; Joubert adored him, the rest hung upon his lips. With each, magnet that he was, he formed a personal relation. As for Pauline de Beaumont, as soon as she saw him she loved him with a passion that gave her back her youth. And he needed her so much that he loved her also. He needed her glow, her admiration, her judgment, her power of criticism; just as she needed his fire, his energy, his flashing. colorous egoism to fill the void that she felt-the longings that Joubert could only assuage. The swallow flew by instinct to the South.

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And whatever we feel about Chateaubriand, we must allow him the saving grace of expansiveness. He was now thirty-one. and in the prime of his genius : gifted with an eloquence which set him apart, even in that eloquent age. His tongue enchanted. and both he and his audience often confused his tongue with his soul. Yet his soul was enchanting too, and with reason, for his aspirations were noble. At the time that he arrived in Paris he was about to publish Atala, the work inspired by his travels in South America. It came out in 1801. Like Byron, he awoke one fine morning to find himself famous. Paris could talk of nothing but the sentimental savage maiden whose soul he had depicted. Savages became the fashion; dressed in cock's feathers they raved to one another on the stage about solitude; country inns were adorned with coloured prints of aborigines. And the aborigines were no more than eighteenth-century ladies and gentlemen without their finery, playing at simplicity in tropical scenery. No one rejoiced in his success as did Pauline de Beaumont. They talked of it-they talked of many other things. Every night they met in the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg; soon they could do with no less than three meetings a day. They went to the theatre together; they saw Talma, 'whose grace seized you like a grief.' Their bond of companionship became closer. We cannot but imagine, in spite of 'the velvet inside him,' that Joubert must have felt rather ruffled, a little out in the cold. But, true friend as he was, he showed nothing but pleasure in her happiness. Chateaubriand did not rest upon his laurels. He grew new ones. Directly after the appearance of Atala he absorbed himself in his magnum opus. Magnum, indeed, for its aim was nothing less than to recreate the Christian religion in France; to send forth his glowing word and kindle the grey ashes of unbelief and rationalism, strewn on the cold hearth of the eighteenth century; to blow with his breath till the flame of faith leaped up once more to light his country. result was Le Génie du Christianisme.

His eloquence thrilled Pauline. 'He plays on all my fibres as if I were a harpsichord,' she said. It was not long before he found that Paris disturbed his power of writing; he must have solitude—that shibboleth of his preaching—but he must not be alone. Pauline must come with him, to soothe, to listen, to criticise. She took a little cottage at Savigny, not very far from the capital, and here she and René were to live and work in seclusion. The Jouberts were to come and stay, but society was not to approach them. The plan was romantic, unconventional, but Joubert approved. Madame Joubert chose their pots and pans, Joubert lent, begged, borrowed the books that were needful for René's work, and in the May of 1801, accompanied by cartloads of heavy tomes, they installed themselves in the country. That summer was the

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri summer—a brief one—of Pauline de Beaumont's life. 'I shall hear the sound of his voice every morning,' she said. The two were like children in the enjoyment of their new possessions.

We have hardly been here twenty-four hours, and I am already impatient to send you news of us. . . . Everything has given us pleasure, even M. Pigeau. . . . When he came to make me sign his inventory of the house, with the supplement of twelve hens and two cocks, we were seized with a mad fit of laughter, which is still going on. . . . This morning the Savage read me the first part of the first volume. To say the truth, I should wish him a colder and more enlightened critic than myself, for I have not come out of my enchantment.

Every day they found new walks, in the woods, to their beloved Fontaine de Jouvisy. In the evening she taught him the names of the stars. In between, he worked with a zest that was amazing and, with heroic zeal, she ploughed through thick volumes of ecclesiastical history, and all the works of the Abbé Fleury. Joubert writes counsels and criticisms—excellent criticisms. He is their confident, he sees the MSS.

Now Pauline is in despair; now she is in raptures. 'The secret of the enchanter,' she says, 'is that he enchants himself.' But she could be severe-she thought it was 'detestable' to be indulgent. Sometimes their tête-à-tête is broken. The Jouberts come to stay, or Lucile, or Fontanes; sometimes Madame de Staël rushes in. René and she did not get on. It was a case of when egoist meets egoist. 'She talks of love like a Bacchante, of God like a Quaker, of death like a Grenadier, and of morals like a Sophist,' so said Fontanes, who frankly detested her. Pauline defended her friend, but a coldness again grew between them and the old intimacy was not resumed. Meanwhile the great book grew to completion. It is part of the luck of those who have a genius for stage effect that they are always followed by the right mise en scène. Not only had Chateaubriand, with the true dramatic instinct, dedicated his work to Napoleon Bonaparte, but he had timed that work, unknowingly, with the Concordat, the statesman's attempt to effect by decree what the man of letters had tried to do by art. Napoleon knew how to praise: he ordered that the book should appear on the same day on which the great Te Deum was to be sung in honour of the Concordat with state in Notre-Dame. The two great men became partners in a firm for the manufacture of religion. France responded to the appeal-she wept, she applauded. René's success was phenomenal. He was fêted, almost canonised; ladies picked up scraps of paper on which he had written, they hid them in their high-piled hair; when he went on a journey and stopped to breakfast at an inn, a family of peasants ran in to bless him and assure him that he had completely restored their belief. Arcadia and

Savigny had long since proved too tame for him; after seven months of quiet the cottage was given up, but René remembered. 'I should never have written it,' he said of his book, 'without

the peace that she gave me.'

Pauline's happiness was at an end; she was jealous of the success that took him from her; of the fashionable ladies who spoiled him; of one, and with reason, Madame de Custine. She grew ill again and restless, and she was not made happier by the news that he had been appointed Secretary to the French Legation at Rome, where Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, was ambassador. She had the generosity to encourage him to accept the honour, but it meant separation, it broke her heart.

Chateaubriand consoled himself by the thought that she would follow him. He invited her to come to him; he invited his wife; he also invited Madame de Custine. Madame de Beaumont

accepted.

And yet, with all this, Chateaubriand was not a hypocrite. It is no easy matter to estimate the character of a sincere actor. Chateaubriand, like Byron, was of that baffling race. Both these men made a melodrama of life, always playing the leading part, unable to exist apart from an audience (an audience of one sometimes sufficed), neither of them in the least caring for the stage when they were off it, both with a childish love of dressing up their bodies and souls. We all remember Byron's gorgeous costumes; as for René, he liked to start on the most unadventurous trip in a post-chaise, in the toilet of a brigand, with pistol-cases hidden beneath the carriage cushions. Like many histrionic geniuses, they were really rather cold characters—emotional, not passionate, with an infinite capacity for being bored.

This may be absurd, but it has its compensations. A melodrama needs effects, especially effects of virtue; and of heroism, sacrifice, and generosity both men were pre-eminently capable. Chateaubriand could abnegate a fortune rather than hold office under the Duc d'Enghien's assassin; Byron could die, uncomplaining, in the cause of a foreign nation. Both were doubtless affected by their own view of themselves. Byron posed as the bad man, and thought himself worse than he was; Chateaubriand posed as the good man, and thought himself better than he was. Yet the fact remains that René, if not the truer, was at least the better man of the two. Although he was always Le Grand Ennuyé, he was never a cynic or a scoffer. It may be that he loved his illusions too well to be a cynic, and needed too much support—even personal attention—from the Deity to do without belief. But, apart from this, he had the sense of reverence, the poet's imagination. And while Byron regarded women as

Oriental slaves, Chateaubrand respected their minds and treated them as equal companions.

The heartbreak he caused was the greater. Pauline had not the nature that could live upon illusions. She saw with deadly clearness that he was tiring of her, and yet she could not renounce her love. In the summer of 1802, he started for Rome. He wrote her letters of fervent devotion. She was not deceived by them, but she tried to be; she derived her only sustenance from them. Her cough and her prostration grew worse; she resolved to try the baths of Monte-Dore in Auvergne which had benefited her before. In her heart she meant to travel thence to Rome, but of this she breathed no word to Joubert, or to anybody else. She knew as well as he that the journey would probably kill her; she also knew that she could not live without a motive for life. The letters that she wrote to Joubert from Monte-Dore are heart-rending.

Nobody [runs one of them] has a better right than I to complain of Nature. She has refused everything to me, and has given me the sense of all I lack. There is no moment at which I do not feel the weight of the complete mediocrity to which I am condemned. . . . I am like a fallen angel who cannot forget what he has lost and has not the force to regain it. . . . I cough less, but I think it is that I may die without noise. . . . To withdraw in silence, to let myself be forgotten—this is my duty. May I have courage to accomplish it.

This is the cry of an illness too deep for Joubert to cure. And there were minor ills. The food, the dirt, the joltings, the discomforts of the inns were deplorable, the Auvergnat bores insufferable, the tedium unfathomable. She spent hours on her back, counting the beams of her bedroom ceiling. The mountains exasperate her—so does 'the whole world' when it hears her cough and asks if Madame est malade? Solitude was the only thing bearable, for in solitude alone she could find again, she said, her friends of the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg. 'Go on counting the beams of your ceiling,' says Joubert, 'it is your only means of getting well.' Not long after, he received the thunderbolt—the news that she had started for Rome; he was distraught, he could not believe it, he wrote imploring letters to her en route in the hope of turning her back. But the swallow flew South.

Chateaubriand, more alive than ever, met the ghost of Pauline at Florence. He was flushed with success—the spoilt child of Cardinals, of the Pope himself. When Pius the Seventh gave him audience, he found Le Génie du Christianisme on the Papal table. The antiquities of Rome, too, amazed, enchanted him. They suited his temperament. We always think of René with the Coliseum at his back. Pauline and he drove to Rome; he had found her lodgings near the Piazza di Spagna; she had a little

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garden with espaliers of orange-trees, a courtyard with a fig-tree in it. At first René had his usual effect. He electrified her into a semblance of life; he was shocked, frightened by her looks, and anxiety revived his devotion. Her last weeks were blissfully happy. Every day they drove out in the glowing gold Campagna of autumn. But the improvement quickly wore off. 'The lamp,' she said, 'has burnt out its oil.' Their last long expedition was to Terni. René tried to persuade her to come with him and see the waterfall, but she sank down exhausted. 'We must let the floods fall,' she said quietly. The words rang her death-knell.

This was in late October. A few days later in the Coliseum: 'Come, I am cold,' she said, and she returned home to bed, never to rise from it again. The doctor told Chateaubriand the end was near. When he went into her room there were tears in his eyes. She smiled and held out her hand. 'You are a child.' she said; 'were you not expecting it?' Weeping, he told her it would be soon, and begged her to see a priest. There was silence, then in a firm voice, 'I did not think,' she replied, 'that it would be quite so soon. Well, then, I must really bid you good-bye.' She saw the priest; she told him that deep down she had always kept a sense of religion—that the Revolution had made her doubt God's justice—that she was ready to confess her errors and commend herself to the Eternal Mercy-that she hoped her suffering here would shorten her expiation. The priest came out in tears; he had left her at peace. Later she received Extreme Unction, and then Chateaubriand remained alone with her. made him sit on the edge of her bed; with her failing voice she gave him her last counsels, her last sympathy; she begged him to live near Joubert. Presently she asked him to open the window; a ray of sunlight came in and gave her pleasure. She fell to recalling Savigny-and then she cried. That afternoon she sank. As he watched her, her head fell. 'I put my hand on her heart,' he said, 'it beat no more.'

Thus he wrote in the simplicity of his first emotion just after her death. It was on the 4th of November 1803. She was buried in that white ball-dress sent her long ago which she had always destined for her shroud. She had carried it with her to Rome, as if she meant that she should die there. Thirty-five years later in his Memoirs René worked the scene up, told how she wished to leave him her money, how he refused. But even then it seemed as if her spirit haunted him and forced him to be sincere. 'A deplorable conviction came and overwhelmed me,' he wrote: 'I saw that only when Madame de Beaumont was drawing her last breath did she realise the true attachment I had for her.' His grief was very real, if it was scenic. He saw that due honour was done her. He gave her a marble monument



in the French Church at Rome, with a long inscription and her favourite verse from Job upon it, and a record that François René de Chateaubriand had raised it to her memory. (In the Memoirs he records that it cost him nine thousand francs and that he sold all that he possessed to erect it.) She had left her books to him, her bookcase and writing-desk to Joubert, her money to her mother's old maid, and René executed her will. He took her old servants to live with him. And when he went to Paris his first action was to visit the cypress-tree she had planted in her girlhood in the Rue Plumet. But his sorrow receded, it became oratorical. Twenty-three years later, in 1827, when he was Ambassador at Rome, he went alone to kneel at her grave. 'I visited,' he wrote, 'the monument of her who was the soul of a vanished society.'

The tableau vivant is perfect, but it was the Chancellor Pasquier who kept the tomb in repair. René had found several consolations: Madame de Custine—and others. Pauline had been only one of many.

With Joubert it was different.

I have not written to you, it is from grief [he said to her in one of his last letters]... my soul keeps its habits; but it has lost the delight of them. You ask me to love you always. Alas, can I do otherwise?... Farewell, cause of so much pain, you who have been to me the source of so much good.

The love and the pain remained. Till his death he kept October, the month of her last illness, sacred to her, retiring from the world to mourn and to meditate. He maintained his close ties with all their little circle—not one of them who did not mourn with him—but his spring was gone; his mind, as well as his heart, had suffered irreparable loss.

Madame de Beaumont [he said years afterwards] had pre-eminently one quality which is not a talent . . . and yet places the soul on the level of the most brilliant gifts: I mean an admirable intelligence. She understood everything. . . . You will meet many women of mind, but few, like her, who enjoy their mind without any desire to show it off.

We may be sure that when he died in 1824 his last human thought was of her. And, in the end, it was he who made the best, the most enduring chapter of her story. She would not have done without Chateaubriand. She could not have done without Joubert.

EDITH SICHEL.

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## OXFORD AND THE ARMY

EARLY in the spring of 1872 the slumberous calm that enveloped the University of Oxford was rudely broken by startling and terrible rumours. It was noised abroad in academic circles that in accordance with the Military Forces Localisation Bill Oxford had been selected as the scene of a new military depot. rumours grew into certainty when myrmidons of the War Office. suave, well-groomed persons of soldierly bearing, were espied in the neighbourhood, full of inquiries for land, building sites, water supply, and kindred subjects. The Common-rooms buzzed with dismay. So fearful a plot against the welfare of the University had not been known since that distressful time, nearly thirty years before, when the railway had been brought into Oxford, regardless of the frantic protests of almost every Don in the place. True, the University had unexpectedly survived that horrid innovation. But barracks! In Oxford, or even within reach of it! Council and Congregation, Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, Heads of Houses, Professors, Tutors—scarce a man among them but grew cold at the thought. Their personal experience of 'the military' no doubt was slight; but full well they knew the evil reputation of the brutal and licentious soldiery; the profligate and abandoned lives their officers habitually lead; the appalling effects upon the morality and discipline of the University that must inevitably ensue unless this baneful project were promptly nipped in the bud.

What the undergraduate of the day thought of all the fuss history does not relate. The plentiful crop of ephemeral literature in which his callow wit now finds weekly utterance had not then begun to blaze forth upon its limited world. What his enlightened pastors and masters thought, and did, remains on record, fully set forth in a pamphlet entitled The Military Centre at Oxford. and published as a last scream of despair when the mischief was all but accomplished. The burning question was brought before Congregation on-the 23rd of April 1872:

In a very full House it was resolved, without a dissentient voice, to resist as far as possible the threatened experiment, and a Delegacy of the Vice-Chancellor and five other members of Convocation was appointed, in order to give utterance to the opinion of Convocation by communicating with the War Office on the subject.

A fortnight later the Delegacy waited on the Secretary for War, and were solemuly introduced by the Burgesses of the University. Here is their own account of the interview:

The delegates severally stated the objections which they, as representing the convictions of Convocation, entertained to the proposal, and enumerated the risks which were likely to ensue to the University in case a body of soldiers was permanently settled in the neighbourhood. They were told that the depot would ordinarily be small, and that it would be presided over by officers of experience and character. To this they answered that a small evil was still an evil, and might under peculiar circumstances be a great evil; that the risk was needless, and that they had not permitted themselves to criticise the character or conduct of the officers or soldiers who might be sent, but the inconvenience of a collision between military life and academic discipline.

The delegates could not be charged with any lack of candour in expressing what they thought of the soldiers. It would be interesting to know what the soldiers thought of them. Soon after the interview the War Office sent down a couple of distinguished officers to Oxford, to attempt to explain to the authorities there that the establishment of a depot in the neighbourhood need not necessarily sap the morals of the blameless undergraduates or wreck the peace of the University. But their arguments fell on deaf ears. The Dons knew better, and remained wholly unconvinced. Then came the Long Vacation, and for the usual four months the University for all practical purposes ceased to exist. Immediately Michaelmas term began the Dons returned to the charge, with another futile blast.

On October 28, 1872, a memorial, signed by twenty-four University Professors and eighty-nine College tutors and lecturers, being nearly the whole of such resident members of the University as were engaged in its education and discipline [it is refreshing to find that there were at least a few sane men among them], was forwarded to the Secretary for War, deprecating, on grounds identical with those alleged by the delegates, the adoption of the project.

The War Office abandoned all further efforts at conciliation. It was clearly hopeless to argue with prejudices so deep-rooted, with misconceptions so blind and so puerile. They pursued thenceforth a steady course, punctuated by periodical splutterings of academic fury. In vain the Dons protested that 'the University has been probably imperilled, and certainly slighted, for no other apparent reason than that of furthering two electioneering intrigues.' In vain they put up members of Parliament to repeat these futilities in the House. Their shrieks that 'the level of local morality would be seriously lowered' either passed unheeded or met with the scorn they deserved. Slowly but surely the dreaded barracks arose, not, it is true, on the ground originally

selected for the purpose between Oxford and Summertown, then open fields, now covered with continuous streets of villas—so far the local opposition had been successful—but 'in a dreary and desolate locality,' as the inspecting officer had justly termed it, at Bullingdon, incidentally destroying one of the finest cricket-grounds in England, which gave its name to the most famous of Oxford clubs. In due course the buildings were completed, and the handful of officers and few scores of men that form the normal establishment of an infantry territorial depot took possession. Their presence, of course, affected University life not at all, and even those of the Dons who had screamed the loudest were soon bound to admit that their dismal forebodings had been devoid of any kind of foundation.

All this sounds childish enough, and it would be unjust, as well as untrue, to suggest that it represents the existing attitude of the University towards the Army. The occasional soldier who may penetrate the seclusion of a Common-room finds himself in a community whose language, ideas, and modes of life are as the poles apart from anything he has ever experienced before; a community to his eyes strangely ignorant of the outside world and utterly unconscious of its ignorance, deeply stirred at times by trifles of merely academic interest while cold to questions of national importance, but at any rate not actively hostile to his profession. They incline to regard him as a probably wholly uneducated individual of violent propensities, belonging to a calling with which they have no sort of concern. Indifference, in fact, rather than antipathy, is now the prevailing note in the relations of the greater part of the University authorities toward all things Some few, indeed, among them do devote a generous amount of their none too numerous leisure-hours to the military activities of the place, which, moreover, have enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a whole-hearted support from the present and late holders of the highest academic office. But these are the rare exceptions, and there are still only too many colleges where the official attitude towards anything of the kind is at best one of half-reluctant tolerance.

No such charge can be laid against the undergraduate. Of late an astonishing enthusiasm for soldiering has seized upon him. The numbers of the University contingent of the Officers Training Corps have increased by leaps and bounds, until now it comprises more than a third of the entire University. During the last two years the development has been more remarkable than ever, and figures have been attained undreamt of even in the war-fever days of twelve years ago. No less than 964 members of the corps were returned as 'efficient' in October last, and in January the corps embarked on the New Year with a strength of 1140

of all ranks. A like increase has taken place in the number of candidates for commissions in the Regular Army, who are under charge of a body known as the Delegacy for Military Instruction. Previously to 1910 the candidates dealt with by the delegates never totalled and rarely approached 100. Last year they rose to 132, of whom thirty-one received nominations to commissions in the Regular Forces.

How long this state of things will last remains to be seen. The popularity of the Training Corps, exceptionally fortunate of late in its staff, may not maintain its high level, though it is never likely to sink again into the obscurity that in former days, except at rare intervals, hampered the efforts of the old University Volunteer Corps. A few years ago it required no little moral courage to cross a college quadrangle clad in the uniform of the corps. Almost was it the mark of the beast. Now 'all the best people' belong to the Training Corps, and what that means to the success of a University institution it is needless to explain. Probably the introduction three years ago of a new regulation requiring all Army candidates to be efficient members of the corps helped to turn the tide of undergraduate fashion in its favour. And if the Army candidate has helped to further the interests of the corps, it is no less certain that the popularity of the corps, by turning undergraduate thoughts into military channels, has tended to react with great advantage upon the numbers of candidates for commissions in the Army.

For a great number of years a small number of commissions in the Regular Army had been offered to University candidates, and occasionally, in times of emergency, whole stacks of such commissions had been showered upon bewildered Vice-Chancellors for instant distribution among their charges. But it was only some seven years ago, when the dearth of candidates from other sources began to make itself seriously felt, that the War Office gave any great attention to the Universities as possible recruiting grounds for the commissioned ranks, and cast about for means One of the first difficulties they had to enof tapping them. counter was the entire ignorance of one another's methods that has always raised a barrier between the War Office and the Universities. To the Don the manners and customs and the requirements of military life are a sealed book, while the soldier is in general equally in the dark with regard to University habits and procedure. The War Office therefore had recourse to a newly devised body, called the Advisory Board on Military Education, which they invited representatives of the various Universities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The writer was four years an undergraduate, one a Sandhurst cadet, fifteen a soldier, and for the last ten has been a Don—a somewhat rare experience.

to join, in order to receive evidence from experts on military education and from prominent University officials, and to draw up, in consultation with the Headquarter Staff, new regulations for entrance to the Regular Army through the Universities. The Board heard a mass of evidence, took an infinity of pains, and the new regulations of 1904 were the result. Some very drastic and altogether admirable changes were introduced. former system the only academic qualification required was that the candidate should have passed Moderations, or its equivalent at other Universities, and have been one year in residence. The witnesses who gave evidence on behalf of the Universities almost unanimously complained—and very justly complained—that to describe this as a university education was a sheer absurdity. The new regulations, therefore, insisted upon three years' residence and a degree, or at least the passing of all examinations for a degree. The few commissions previously offered to the Universities were awarded to candidates—when there was any competition for them-who gained the highest marks in a competitive and purely literary examination. Not the least of the merits of the revised system was that it frankly threw overboard the principle of selection by competitive examination, and ordained that the appointment of the candidates, after they had fulfilled the necessary conditions, should be by nomination pure and simple. Each University was required to furnish its own Nomination Board, to which the Army Council add two representatives of the General Staff, with powers of veto. The Nomination Boards are also charged with the duty of superintending the military education of the Army candidates of their University.

The institution of these boards has undoubtedly done much to bring about a better understanding between the military and the academic authorities. Besides forming permanent committees responsible for the military education and training of Army candidates, they enable the War Office for the first time to deal with an authoritative body which can voice the ideas of the University on military matters, when it has any, or formulate them when, as is more often the case, it has none. The Regimental Staff of the Officers Training Corps are ex-officio members of the Board, as well as the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, while the elected members are usually chosen for their actual military experience or for the strong interest they have displayed in

military affairs.

Seven years have now elapsed since the new regulations came into operation, and it may be instructive briefly to review the results. The number of candidates who have been nominated under them totals 282. Beginning in 1905 with no more than nine, the figures rose from fourteen in 1906 to thirty-five in 1907,

pigitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri forty in 1908 and 1909, seventy-one in 1910, and seventy-three in 1911; and there seems every reason to believe, from the number of candidates registered at the principal Universities, that the great increase in the last two years is likely not merely to be maintained, but to rise to a considerably higher figure. Of the 282 nominated, 131 have been furnished by Oxford, 110 by Cambridge, thirty-four by Dublin, and seven by other Universities. This increase is all the more remarkable from the fact that it has coincided with a striking decline in the number of candidates supplied by the older and more regular sources. Competition for the cadetships at Sandhurst threatens to become almost a thing of the past, while for the last five years candidates for the Regular commissions offered to officers of the Special Reserve -formerly the most valuable sources of supply, after the military colleges-have grown steadily and ominously fewer. The decline began to be serious in 1907, when only 105 candidates could qualify for the 112 vacancies available, and culminated in 1910, when 140 commissions were offered, and no more than forty-six candidates could be accepted.

What the reason of this lamentable shrinkage in the supply of officers may be forms no part of the object of the present article The question has been thoroughly ventilated of late in the columns of the daily, weekly, and monthly Press; and the likeliest explanation seems to be neither the increased attention to military duties entailed by the higher efficiency now demanded in all professions alike, nor the insufficiency of the officer's pay to cover his expenses. Money-making can never have entered into the motives that induced anybody to join the Army. Nor is the Secretary of State for War very convincing when he asserts, as he did in Parliament not long ago, speaking of the scarcity of officers, that 'The question at the root is . . . the burden of the cost of education of candidates for the position of officers in the British Army.' Mr. Haldane's theory is surely disproved by the fact, which the official figures establish beyond dispute, that, while the two older sources of supply are gradually drying up, the Universities, which unquestionably form the most costly avenue to a commission, are every year furnishing a growing The opening up of a variety of new number of candidates. careers, in addition to the Army, the Navy, the Church, and the Bar, which in old days were considered the only professions for a gentleman, may to some extent have affected the case. But the main reason is to be found in the reduction in the size of families now almost universal among the classes that have always been the mainstay of the commissioned ranks of the Army-the country squire, the clergy, Army officers themselves, and other professional men in like circumstances.

education.

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Whatever the cause of the trouble may be, the remedy now to be adopted of lowering the age for admission to the military colleges, in accordance with Mr. Haldane's theories on the prohibitive cost of education, is surely a step in the wrong direction. The conditions of modern warfare demand an increasing level of education and intelligence from officers, in addition to the resourcefulness and force of character which have always been the first essentials, and which no examination can ever gauge; and there can be little doubt that a boy's last year at his public school, when he becomes an influential and responsible member of his miniature world, furnishes him with an experience of the utmost value in any subsequent career, and in none more valuable than the Army. It is just possible that the saving of a year's school-fees might attract a few more competitors for the military colleges, which must always form the most important channels to a commission. But the relief could hardly be anything but temporary, and any gain in numbers would be dearly bought by the consequent curtailment of the years spent in general

If there be any truth in the belief so widely held that the present dearth of officers is due rather to a shrinkage in the rising generation of the classes that have hitherto been the backbone of the Army, it would seem a wiser policy to seek to attract a larger proportion than before of the dwindling numbers of these classes, wherever they are to be found; at an age, moreover, less likely to suffer from the effects of the tropical climates to which so many young officers are sent as soon as they are gazetted to their regiments, than would be the case with cadets who enter Sandhurst at the age of seventeen.

Now nowhere is there a more abundant supply to be found of the very finest material than at the Universities. Every year the cream of the public schools rises continually to Oxford and Cambridge, and it is no exaggeration to say that scores of the best type of public schoolboy matriculate with but the vaguest idea of the form their future careers are to take. Till within recent years the tendency of University education has been to direct their unformed views of life into any direction but that of the Army. The whole atmosphere of the place was not merely unmilitary, but almost positively antagonistic to anything of the kind. Politics, the Church, the Bar, the Civil Service, educational appointments, and many other professions-all these the University curriculum provided for; but from the Army the authorities stood rigorously aloof. Latterly it has begun to dawn upon some few of them that the military services of the Crown also have some claim upon the chief seats of national education. Oxford led the way by instituting 'schools' which enable a degree

to be taken in military studies, an admirable example which Cambridge was not slow to follow. So great is the favour these schools have found in the eyes of the War Office that within the last few weeks they have been officially accepted as substitutes for the War Office examination of University candidates. The powers that be therefore in Oxford have some claim upon the gratitude of the Army. But it is the astonishing growth of military spirit in the modern undergraduate, coupled no doubt with the increasing difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of candidates elsewhere, that has compelled attention to the value of the Universities as recruiting grounds. The War Office, however indifferent they may have been in the past to the possibilities of this source, have recently shown a quick appreciation of the rising tide of warlike enthusiasm, and have spared no effort to keep it at high-water mark. During the last few months a succession of new regulations has been sanctioned, all designed to make smooth the path from the University to the Army.

Paramount in importance are the new provisions regarding antedate of commissions. Hitherto the one great bar to entering the Army through a University has been the question of seniority. The age handicap was bad enough when the maximum age was twenty-two, and the University candidate could qualify for Sandhurst, where he had to be trained for a year, by merely passing Moderations. That, however, is ancient history. It became far worse when the regulations of 1904, still in force, demanded a degree and at least three years' residence at the University, and as a necessary corollary raised the age-limit to twenty-five. That means that the average University candidate, on joining his regiment at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, is always liable to find himself junior to boys who might have been his school fags, while his chances of ever obtaining a command are insignificant. It is true the regulations offer a year's antedate to any candidate who graduates with first-class honours. But the value of such an offer is sufficiently shown by the fact that no single candidate from either of the two great Universities, who form all but an insignificant proportion of the whole number of candidates, has ever benefited by it. Six candidates from one of the minor Universities certainly have been granted the extra year's antedate for a first-class. But standards no doubt differ, and for Oxford and Cambridge the rule has been a dead-More to the point is a rule which, though it professes to be no more than a temporary expedient and has never been announced in any official regulations, has nevertheless been carried out for six years. This provides that a University candidate, on being posted to his regiment, is given such an antedate as will give him precedence over any brother officer who has

joined the same corps from Sandhurst—not from Woolwich during the previous twelve months. In point of fact the majority of candidates do benefit thereby to a limited extent. The drawback is that if a man joins a regiment in which there has been a long block, and no vacancies have arisen to be filled by a Sandhurst cadet during the last year, he gets no antedate whatever. So that it is a matter of pure chance what antedate, if any, is given at all; and it happens often enough that a candidate high on the nomination list of his University starts his service junior by anything up to twelve months to one at the bottom. When the new regulations come into operation, at the nomination of next Christmas, all University candidates alike are promised a definite antedate of eighteen months from the day on which they are gazetted; while an additional six months, counting moreover, unlike the first eighteen, towards pension, may be awarded to those who graduate with first- or second-class honours.

The regulations of 1912 introduce another change that removes a grievance which has long rankled among Oxford candidates, due to the proportion in which the total number of University commissions offered every six months is distributed. was a point which the War Office left for the decision of the University members of the Advisory Board, whom they might naturally suppose to be best qualified to deal with it. Now 'the Universities,' in common parlance, means Oxford and Cambridge. The general public is only dimly aware that there are a number of other institutions which lay claim to that title. But the War Office, in their scrupulous zeal for strict impartiality, invited representatives to the Advisory Board from all manner of Universities, many of which were never likely to be of the least value as recruiting grounds, with the result that any one of these had as much voice in framing the regulations as the representatives of the two great Universities-and one or two, it is said, a good deal more. Consequently, for purposes of nominations, the 1904 regulations arranged the Universities into six groups, consisting of:

(a) The University of Oxford.

(b) The University of Cambridge.

(c) Trinity College, Dublin.

(d) The University of London.

(e) The Universities of Scotland.

(f) Sundry others.

The same number of commissions—viz. five—in Cavalry, Infantry, or Guards, with a subsequent addition of one in the Indian Army and one in the Royal Artillery, has been offered regularly every six months to each one of these six groups alike. The last three in seven years have between them furnished no

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri more than seven candidates. Trinity College, Dublin, have never taken up all the vacancies placed at their disposal, but nevertheless have been able to accept an average of five commissions a year, and therefore have a strong claim to consideration. numbers of candidates from Oxford and Cambridge now invariably exceed-and frequently very largely exceed-the number of commissions to which they are entitled. Happily there is a further provision-that, if any of the groups are unable to award their commissions, the 'unallocated surplus' shall be available for distribution among the candidates of other groups. In effect, therefore, there are forty-two commissions offered every six months to the Universities; and the insignificant number claimed by the other four groups leave a margin that has hitherto proved amply sufficient for the needs of Oxford and Cambridge, though it seems highly probable that these two alone will shortly require more commissions than up to the present have been available for the whole six groups.

But while the two principal Universities have always been granted commissions for every candidate they were able to nominate in one branch of the Service or another, they have not had anything like their fair share of the Indian commissions, for which the competition is always keen. The unallocated surplus is distributed on a definite system of rotation which pays no regard whatever to the numbers of candidates nominated by the For instance, last summer Oxford nomiseveral Universities. nated twenty-one candidates, Cambridge eighteen, Dublin two, and Edinburgh one. The two spare Indian commissions not taken up by the remaining groups fell to the turn of Cambridge and Dublin. So three Indian commissions went to two groups who had only furnished three candidates, and the same number to two groups who furnished thirty-nine. The chances on this occasion against an Oxford man getting the Indian Army were twenty to one; against the Cambridge man nine to one; while the Dublin and Edinburgh men got it for the asking. The case was very similar at the summer nomination of the previous year, when Oxford with twenty-one candidates again only got one Indian commission, Cambridge two with seventeen candidates, Dublin two with four, and Edinburgh one with the first and only candidate they had ever yet produced. And yet these allotments were entirely in accordance with the system laid down for the distribution of such commissions.

Instances of such flagrant anomalies repeated in successive years proved beyond dispute the need for a revision of the old system. Oxford renewed the protests on this subject raised the year before, and the 1912 regulations classify the Universities more in accordance with their value for this particular purpose—

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and perhaps for pictive of the same in Foundation Chennal and eGangotic, and are replaced by three new ones—viz. (a) Oxford, '(b) Cambridge, (c) the rest. Moreover, assurances have been given, though not embodied in the new regulations, that in future the coveted Indian commissions are to be distributed 'among the three groups in proportion to the total number of candidates nominated.'

There is one rule, still remaining in the 1912 regulations, which seems to do less than justice to the University candidate. Officers of any other Auxiliary Forces attached for instruction to Regular Units draw the full pay of their rank during the whole period of their attachment, as well as messing allowance and travelling expenses. University candidates, on the contrary, who receive temporary commissions in the Territorial Force before undertaking the course of instruction with a Regular Unit. which is one of the necessary conditions of obtaining a nomination, receive no pay or allowances whatever, and bear the whole cost of living in a mess during six weeks of one of their vacations out of their own pockets, or rather, those of parents whose resources may very well already be strained by the ordinary expenses of a University career. To some extent this anomaly may be justified by the fact that all other Auxiliary officers undertake responsibilities on accepting commissions which are not incurred by the University candidate, on whom the country can make no claim. Instances occur, too, of University candidates abandoning their intentions of taking commissions in the Regular Army after completing all their attachment. But both of these objections would be met by granting pay and allowances for the periods of attachment on condition of subsequently joining the Army, and only issuing them when the candidate had received his commission and was about to purchase his outfit.

That particular branch of the War Office which deals with the Universities and their Army candidates has laid them under so great obligations during the last few months that it seems a pity so small a matter as this should not be adjusted. The regulations of 1912 are as great an advance upon those of 1904 as the latter were on anything that had gone before. The barriers between the War Office and the Universities are vanishing fast. There is probably no public department which is the target for more irresponsible and ill-informed criticism than the War Office. The extremely able and experienced officers who compose its staff, hampered and tied as they are by financial and political considerations of which the outside public has no conception, pestered by all sorts of claims which take no account of the results their satisfaction would entail, endure with an unruffled reticence the constant clamour of foolish chatter that ever assails the Office they serve when it declines to entertain any

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri wild-cat scheme that misguided enthusiasm, or the passing fashion of the day may suggest. Even the well-weighed proposals of responsible outside critics need long and careful consideration before they can receive the seal of official sanction. There may be conflicting interests to reconcile, long-standing rights to safeguard, or, most difficult of all, a reluctant Treasury to beguile. And so at best the wheels grind slowly, whilst the parrot cry of 'red tape' that echoes round the walls of the War Office only bespeaks the blank ignorance of those who raise it, all unaware that the thing they blaspheme stands simply for order, for method and system, and for justice between man and man.

A. K. Slessor.

Christ Church, Oxford.

## THE CRYSTAL PALACE

A REMINISCENCE AND A SUGGESTION

'A PALACE made of Crystal!' The words beat upon my childish ears with all the charm and insistence of a fairy tale. loomed large and fantastic upon the world of 1851—that world which to those who can remember it appears now so small, so circumscribed, so stable and so safe. The name alone, which in these days appears so commonplace, because people have forgotten its real signification, set all imaginations going; and the rare travellers who went from my native country to visit England came back with quite unbelievable stories of its vastness, its beauty, its splendour.

It must be borne in mind that nothing of the kind had ever been conceived; that public taste was not jaded by every sort of extraordinary thing springing up like mushrooms overnight, in almost all European countries, and that exhibitions had never been heard of. It was, in fact, the distinct beginning of a new epoch and of new ideas in the history of England. When first I saw the Palace in the distance, soaring apparently in mid-air, unreal and elusive against a frosty December sunset, its age was only seven years. The impression was so strong that it remains as fresh in my mind to-day as it was then. We were nearing murky London, a far foggier and darker London than it is now. and also a much less beautiful one. As my eves roved over the miles of small houses I thought of the poet Heine's description when he says that, looking down upon the myriads of chimneypots, they put him in mind of so many teeth drawn and set with their roots upwards; he also adds that in England the moon always wears a yellow flannel jacket, which proves that he only knew a London moon.

The great event which brought me and my companions over to England was the marriage of Queen Victoria's eldest daughter, the young and gifted Princess Royal, with the future Emperor Frederick the Third. The ladies and gentlemen with whom I had travelled were to form the Princess's court at Berlin, and the Queen, with her usual kind thoughtfulness, had desired that all the sights of London should be shown to us. The very first thing we we digitized by Avas Samei Foundation Chanai and General kable, was the Crystal Palace, for it was unique in the world, and filled us with wonder and admiration. I can recall now the Princess Royal after her marriage often alluding to its opening as one of the most glorious events in the Queen's reign. She said her Royal mother felt such a pride in it, as a proof of the genius and high intelligence of her beloved husband, who conceived it and under whose directions it was built.

The idea of a great Exhibition Palace was an absolutely new one, and in those days a colossal enterprise. The path on which so many other exhibitions were to follow had to be dug and paved, minds had to be trained and accustomed to the thought, and bitter opposition was aroused; yet in spite of it all the great work sprang up in the course of less than six months from its beginning and, what is more, not one of the exhibitions, great or small, which in the last sixty years have followed in its wake have ever rivalled it or even approached it in intrinsic beauty. This is high praise for a monument built at a time when taste and imagination were at a low ebb and the conception of art clung almost only to pictures and statuary. It was only twenty years later that the influence of Morris and the pre-Raphaelite school began to be felt in things pertaining to daily life—an influence which spread far beyond the boundaries of the British Empire, and has strongly coloured art in every European country.

At a moment when so much has been said about the destruction of one of the foremost landmarks of the most glorious reign Great Britain has ever known, it may not be amiss to give a short account of its history. Whether the Prince Consort really originated the idea of a great International Exhibition or whether it was suggested to him by somebody else is not quite certain; but there is no doubt that he seized the idea with great warmth and enthusiasm, and matured it in his own mind before speaking of it to anybody else. It was during the summer of 1849 that the Prince first began to discuss the matter with Sir Robert Peel and others. 'Now is the time,' he said, 'to prepare for an Exhibition—a great Exhibition worthy of the greatness of this country, not merely national in its scope and benefits, but comprehensive of the whole world; and I offer myself to the public as their leader, if they are willing to assist the undertaking.'

The place selected for the Exhibition Palace was Hyde Park, but this met with violent opposition. In June 1850 the Prince writes: 'The Exhibition is now furiously attacked by *The Times*, and the House of Commons is going to drive us out of the Park. There is immense excitement on the subject. If we are driven out of the Park the work is done for. Never was anything so foolish!' Then a little later in another letter: 'Further to

distress us, the William Sama Sama Foundation Then Hai and Schrost all at once made a set against me and the Exhibition, on the ground of interference with Hyde Park. We are to back out of London with our nuisance to the Isle of Dogs, &c.! If we are beaten we shall have to give the whole thing up.'

However, the Prince was not beaten on the question of site. The House of Commons defeated the opposition with a large majority. The financial question was overcome by creating a guarantee fund, the Prince being a liberal subscriber, so anxiety was set at rest on that point. Nobody could anticipate at that time that the success of the Exhibition would make a dead letter of these guarantees, for it left in the hands of the commissioners a balance of nearly a quarter of a million!

The architect chosen to construct the Palace was Mr. Joseph Paxton, the seventh son of a poor schoolmaster, who had worked up his way from the humble position of a gardener on the Duke of Devonshire's estates at Chatsworth, where he had constructed a conservatory 300 feet long by 145 wide, which gave him the

idea of the Crystal Palace.

As soon as the designs for the Exhibition were made public there arose a storm of protest that might have frightened a less determined man than Mr. Paxton. It was said that a huge building of glass and iron could never be made stable. There would be a stupendous disaster. The first gale would blow it into a shapeless wreck. Even if the 'glass case' managed to resist the gales, the heat engendered by the sun when it poured its rays upon the glass would be so terrific that no human being would be able to withstand it; consequently if they escaped an avalanche of glass they would be 'roasted to death inside the case.' I quote these amusing details from a volume compiled some time ago when the Crystal Palace was to be sold by auction.

But there were still more extraordinary developments. The project was looked upon with distrust by most of the great Continental Powers. They thought that contact with English institutions might open dangerous lines of opinion in the minds of their subjects, who were sure to be attracted in considerable numbers to England by the Exhibition. The Prussian Government so alarmed the King with apprehensions of dangers from Republican assassins that at first he would not allow the Prince and Princess of Prussia (afterwards Emperor William and Empress Augusta) to accept the Queen's invitation to be present at the opening ceremony. All these difficulties increased the Prince Consort's work enormously, and he writes: 'Just at present I am more dead than alive from overwork. The opponents of the Exhibition work with might and main to throw all the old women into a panic and to drive myself crazy. The

strangers, they are Samai Foundation Chennal and eGangotti here, to murder Victoria and myself, and to proclaim the Red Republic in England. The plague is certain to come from the confluence of such vast multitudes and to swallow up those whom the increased price of everything has not already swept away. For all this I am to be responsible and against all this I am to make efficient provision.'

This letter is dated the 15th of April 1851, and on the 1st of May the Exhibition was opened in circumstances of unparalleled pomp. It is amusing to record that even at the last moment the prophets of evil begged and prayed that guns announcing the Queen's arrival in the Park should not be fired, because the concussion would shiver the glass roof of the Palace, and thousands of great ladies, who were to be in their seats by ten o'clock, would be cut into mincemeat. Many nervous people were deterred from attending the opening ceremony.

The Prince Consort's biographer writes:

The shock of surprised delight which everyone felt upon first entering the great transept of Paxton's building was a sensation as novel as it was deep. Its vastness was measured by the huge elms, two of the giants of the Park which rose far into the air with all their wealth of foliage, free and unconfined as if there were no thing between them and the open sky. The plash of fountains, the luxuriance of tropical foliage, the play of colours from the choicest flowers, carried on into the vistas of the nave by the rich dyes of carpets and stuffs from the costliest looms, were enough to fill eye and mind with a pleasure never to be forgotten, even without the vague sense of what lay beyond in the accumulated results of human ingenuity and cultivated art.

Thackeray was so moved by the sight that he wrote the following lines:

But vesterday a naked sod The dandies sneered from Rotten Row, And cantered o'er it to and fro, And see 'tis done! As tho' t'were by a wizard's rod A blazing arch of lucid glass Leaps like a fountain from the grass To meet the sun. A quiet green, but few days since With cattle browsing in the shade And here are lines of bright arcade, An order raised. A Palace as for fairy Prince A rare Pavilion such as man Saw never since mankind began, And built and glazed!

But the happiest, the proudest, the most thankful heart on that day was the Queen's. The loving wife, the great Queen, the pious womanDistreed by Arya Bamas Houndard bin Chercharan We Gangdin her diary that evening:

May 1,-the great event has taken place-a complete and beautiful triumph-a glorious and touching sight, one which I shall ever be proud of for my beloved Albert and my country. . . . Yes! it is a day which makes my heart swell with pride and glory and thankfulness! . . . The sight as we came to the middle where the steps and chair (which I did not sit on) were placed, with the beautiful crystal fountain just in front of it, was magical-so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt-as so many did whom I have since spoken to-filled with devotion-more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains, the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband the author of this 'Peace Festival,' which united the industry of all the nations of the earth-all this was moving indeed, and it was, and is, a day to live for ever. God bless my dearest Albert! God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day! One felt so grateful to the great God, who seemed to pervade all and bless all!

To a generation like that of the present day, steeped in constant amusement and excitement, these words may seem exaggerated or even incomprehensible, but to those who can look back a long way they are most touching and pathetic, because the new era inaugurated by this great Exhibition with such glorious hopes has landed us in such troubled waters.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the waters were very clear and still. The scum which always rises to the top in all Revolutions, and which had been mightily stirred up on the Continent in '48 and '49, had again sunk to the bottom, but unfortunately much of it had settled down in England. England felt herself strong and peaceful enough to harbour all the disturbing spirits which were expelled from their native soil. But the Italian proverb says 'Poco favilla gran fiamma seconda,' and who knows whether this generous act of hospitality, at first only offered to political offenders but now extended to every class of agitators, has not been one of the chief causes of our present troubles?

When the Exhibition closed, a splendid success, the problem arose what to do with the Palace. Some wished it to be turned into a winter garden for the delectation of Londoners, and the surplus money, nearly a quarter of a million, to be applied to this purpose. But the Prince Consort interposed. He did not think a pleasure palace necessary for the London public, as the chief object for which it had been built was the promotion of human industry and not of popular recreation. The minds of the early and mid-Victorian Englishmen must have been of a different temper from those of our days, for the Prince carried

1 'A small spark lights a great flame.'

his de Clightized by Avyat Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotti Instruction and national advance were the palatial halls to be preserved. To-day no institute, no village hall could live unless the best part of it were devoted to amusement. Cards and billiard tables are a sine quâ non, for they only, alas! attract the young.

The Prince had to deal with many difficulties, but he had to deal, if I may so express myself, with Roman souls, whilst the

Byzantine soul of the present day has other needs.

The Crystal Palace was constructed at a time when taste was supposed to be bad (though lately there has been rather a reaction on this point), but work was still good; the workman had a conscience and much pride in what he produced, and this gives things of that time a certain attraction. In the building of the Crystal Palace beauty was united to good work, and thus it stands to-day as a memorial of the initial stage of England's Imperial era; for though many may only date this from the day when Lord Beaconsfield's genius evolved the idea of crowning Queen Victoria Empress of India, he no doubt read, with subtle intuition, the thought in the public mind, and we may assume that the great Exhibition of 1851 was a powerful factor in its birth.

The Government, after considering the question a long time, declined to take over the Crystal Palace for the benefit of the nation. It is the drawback of a severely constitutional country, and especially of Party Government, that such opportunities are constantly allowed to slip. A Republic like France would have seized upon it at once, and most countries with autocratic rulers would have most certainly bought it. The purchase of the Palace was left to private enterprise, and under the guidance of intelligent and energetic men the colossal structure was transferred by an

army of 7000 men to its present position.

It would have been difficult to find a finer site, for from it the eye roves over half a dozen counties, and the lungs breathe a most invigorating and diamantine air—a treasure which the jaded Londoner has not yet sufficiently appreciated. If the modern Englishman had one half of the hygienic instinct of the ancient Greek, the Crystal Palace would long ago have been converted into a Palace of Health, second to none in the world. But unfortunately in health as in many other things we shut the door only after the mare has been stolen; we talk of cures when it is prevention we ought to think of.

Better to hunt in fields for Health unbought Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught. The wise for cure on exercise depend, God never made his work for men to mend!

Never did poet write truer lines.

The appalling statistics about the degeneration of the race ought to alarm the public, but it looks on with indifference. I transcribe the following from General Baden-Powell's Scoutbook of 1911, p. 177:

Recent reports on the deterioration of our race ought to act as a warning to be taken in time before it goes too far.

One cause which contributed to the downfall of the Roman Empire was the fact that the soldiers fell away from the standard of their forefathers in bodily strength.

Our standard of height in the army was 5 feet 6 inches in 1845; it was four inches less in 1895. In 1900 forty-four men in every thousand recruits weighed under 7 st. 12 lb.; in 1905 this deficiency had increased to seventy-six per thousand.

In 1908 our recruits were 2 inches below the standard height of men of their age—viz. eighteen to nineteen—and six pounds under the average weight. Three thousand men were sent home from the South African War on account of bad teeth.

Then General Baden-Powell goes on to give statistics about school-children which are even more sad and discouraging, for they are younger than the soldiers, and the report shows how rapidly deterioration is growing. The astounding part of it all is that most of the diseases the present generation suffers from would be quite easily preventable by a wise legislation and educating the public mind to grasping the necessity of being healthy. A low motive would perhaps with the unevolved be the best incentive, and if they understood that health means money, they might be converted to a better way of living. If the people will not do it for themselves it is the duty of the Government to teach them. How can a nation be great when it is not healthy? How can it keep up a high moral standard? How can it be happy? 'The voice of joy and health is in the dwellings of the righteous,' says the Psalmist, but we do not hear the voice of joy or health in England, and the terrible thing is that only few, a very few, seem to miss it. The perfect balance of the soul and body is the sine quâ non of success. The poet's three words, 'Health, peace, and competence' are what is wanted for the people, but how can the two last be secured without the first and most important? What is the good of all the reforms made from time to time if the nation is not taught to understand them?

Some months ago an excellent and most beneficial campaign was made for wholesome bread. Whether it ever penetrated much below the upper classes is very doubtful, but even they are beginning to be slack about it now and accept again the bad bread the baker sends them. The great masses cling to their gallons of poisonous stewed tea, their bad beer, their uncooked, wasteful, unnutritious food, their tinned stuff, and their patent medicines. A nation that lives thus must degenerate. A

great food relovation of the initiated by the Government; there is no difficulty about it, if given into the hands of those who really understand it. The whole system of diet in prisons, workhouses, asylums, schools, as well as in the Army and Navy, needs to be reformed, and one could double the health, while halving the expense, for it would be chiefly done out of savings, and why should not prisons and schools, &c., be made a means of educating the inmates and children as to how they could feed easily and economically afterwards?

Why should not the Crystal Palace be made into a great School of Health for all manner of people, for all ages from infancy to childhood, for girls and boys, for young mothers on to middle and old age? It would be a school with practical demonstration in everything pertaining to health. Demonstrations in cooking, gymnastics, and dancing; sun and air baths, and every kind of water cure. There would be air huts for those who wish to learn the simple life and nature cures; no place could be more perfect for this ideal way of recovering health than the Crystal Palace, as on rainy days it would provide a shelter and amusement and exercise. Hygienic clothing would be taught and hygienic living in its best sense. The theme and scope are so large that they would fill volumes, and yet so simple that the rules once learnt become a second nature to those who have thoroughly grasped them.

Health taught in such a way, in such a place, would be the strong wings which would raise England again to its glorious place in the Council of Nations. No well-balanced and self-reliant people would have shown the pusillanimous and constant preoccupation about war and invasions which has been so rife these latter years. Then what a boon would such a place be so near London, so vast, and with such air! All the over-tired, the exhausted, the nervous, the bored, the over-amused, could in one week, under proper tuition, learn what health really means, and discover the philosophy of life.

Nor would this be all. This scheme of public health would only embrace the buildings surrounding the Crystal Palace. The central monument, and those buildings erected in connexion with the Festival of Empire, could be made use of as a vast Empire Club, where Colonials would feel themselves at home, where they could have exhibits of their produce, where in a few days or hours they could learn to know all about the Mother Country, and then the ties which shall and must unite England to her children will be welded faster than ever.

The wisdom of the older country will temper the impetuosity of the younger ones, the go and dash of their children will infuse new vigour into the parent. Bound firmly to her Colonies and supported by the sensife and tenchen and Jacobin; she would spurn the foreign agitator, whose only aim is to undermine her strength, because she has stood for so long as the prototype of law, order, and high moral sense in the van of the nations.

Only a patriotic, large-hearted, united Empire can ensure the continuance of Great Britain's power. It is only by meeting that Englishmen and Colonials will learn to know and appreciate each

other.

Let the Palace of Crystal, an emblem of strength and purity, be the trysting ground where parent and children shall unite in love and loyalty to build an Empire, just, strong, and beneficent for the happiness of the nation and an example to the world.

WALBURGA PAGET.

## SCHOLARSHIPS, OR MILLSTONES?

Chill penury repressed their noble rage, And froze the genial current of the soul.

THERE has recently been preached a new doctrine as to the duty of ex-scholars and even of the beneficiaries who have obtained their education by the help of willing individuals to whom fortune had been kind. It is now urged that we should regard such educational help as of the nature of a definite money debt, to be measured precisely by the amount received, and refunded in its entirety either to the educational endowment or to the private benefactor, as the case may be; though some, with greater apparent leniency, would allow that it should be passed on in its integrity to an equally worthy recipient in a later scholastic generation. This debt is to have priority of all else according to the stricter views—nay, interest should be paid on it in coin of the realm. This new demand received authoritative countenance at the last meeting of the British Association at Portsmouth. Sir William Ramsay in his inaugural address said:

The remedy lies in our own hands. Let me suggest that we exact from all gainers of University scholarships an undertaking that, if and when circumstances permit, they will repay the sum which they have received as a scholarship, bursary, or fellowship. It would then be possible for an insurance company to advance a sum representing the capital valueviz. £7,464,931, of the scholarships, reserving, say, twenty per cent. for non-payment, the result of mishap or death. In this way a sum of over six million pounds, of which the interest is now expended on scholarships, would be available for University purposes. This is about one-fourth of the sum of twenty-four millions stated by Sir Norman Lockyer at the Southport meeting as necessary to place our University education on a satisfactory basis. A large part of the income of this sum should be spent in increasing the emoluments of the chairs; for, unless the income of a professor is made in some degree commensurate with the earnings of a professional man who has succeeded in his profession, it is idle to suppose that the best brains will be attracted to the teaching profession. And it follows that unless the teachers occupy the first rank, the pupils will not be stimulated as they ought to be.

I propose to examine this view, and hope to show that not only does it lack justification in the intentions of the pious founder of the past and the liberal patron of the present, but that, based on a narrow view of money as a thing apart, the general enforcement of the 'obligation' by law, public opinion, or sense of honour, would do much to annul the benefit derived from educational foundations and benefactions.

We should indeed stray far from the wishes of the pious founder in this commercialisation of his generosity. What he wished, in pre-Reformation days at least, was the assurance in each generation of a supply of educated men: either directly to pray for his soul or for the souls of all erring mortals; or what came indirectly to the same thing, the provision of a stream of welleducated adolescents to supply the needs of the priesthood. France, up to the time of the Revolution, I find that the newfledged graduate in arts, if he wished to enter Holy Orders, had a direct claim on the bishop for such ecclesiastical employ as would give him a title to ordination; and, in the practical absence of most of our learned professions of the present day, we may well suppose that this future for most of the scholars was present to the founders. They were followed in post-Reformation days by others inspired by a more disinterested love of education, or by an enlightened patriotism that saw in the provision for education a factor making for national advance and national prosperity. Many of the founders of this later epoch were themselves former scholars who, having profited by endowments already in existence, sought to increase their number for the satisfaction of their highest feelings, and not as a money debt to be cleared off and forgotten. Certainly the idea of starting a 'snowball' was never present to the mind of the pious founder.

If we pass from perpetual foundations to private benefactions for individuals of promise the aspect is equally clear. Two communities in this country have distinguished themselves by the readiness of their wealthier members help lads of intellectual promise to the means of making their talents bear fruit: the Wesleyans and the Jews. beneficence may assume one of two forms. In the one the single benefactor takes up the whole financial care of the lad's future, makes his acquaintance if necessary, and takes up a godfatherly attitude; and this is requited by a filial attitude on the part of the protégé, who, to my knowledge, is prone indiscreetly rather to magnify his gratitude in the market-place to the abashment of the modest patron than to ignore or suppress it. It is an open secret that the house of Rothschild actively seeks for opportunities of what we may call 'sponsorial benefaction.' The second mode is what we may call 'syndicated liberality.' A limited number of men combine to afford the student the means of study and of suitable living, usually at the suggestion and through the agency of the teacher or minister. In this case the names are usually

kept se Pigitized by Aryae Samai Foundation Chennai and e Gangotri after a distinguished university career he only obtained them on his definite request, so that he might have the opportunity of thanking personally those to whom he owed his successful start in life. It often happens, indeed, that the members of the syndicate ignore each other's names, and, asking no accounts of their almoner, do not even know the relative magnitude of their own contributions. Now I have had opportunities of familiarising myself with the attitude of educational benefactors of both types, and have found them substantially in agreement. Their aim is to give tools to him that can handle them, to open the course to the racehorse for the benefit of the breed, and for the future satisfaction of those that have effected this praiseworthy end. As a teacher wrote once, in his appeal for funds to enable a man of exceptional promise to leave for a time his bread-winning occupation and train himself for scientific research—an appeal fully justified by the subsequent career of the man:

This is no question of charity, for my man is supporting himself already; it is one of your future satisfaction in having helped him to do the highest work of which he is capable, and for which very few are competent.

In France permanent endowments such as our scholarships are, I believe, practically unknown. But bursaries, usually large enough for complete maintenance, are given to deserving students without competition by the Ministry of Education or by the communes, as need arises. Their number is not fixed, and many communes have never given any, since the conditions have not arisen in them. Thus the specific debt view of the scholarship is of new and local origin. I believe that it came to us from Germany and America; and though it is not necessarily the worse for that, it is not necessarily the better. present day the majority of our scholars enter what we may regard as the less remunerative 'learned' and 'scientific' professions, where the rate of pay is low compared to commercial pursuits, promotion is slow, and prizes rare. If their studies lie in the direction of 'litteræ humaniores,' they become clergymen or ministers, or schoolmasters: if they follow science they take posts as demonstrators in our universities, lecturers in technical schools: many again take up law or medicine. But it is only in rare cases that the intellectual promise of childhood finds its realisation in the capacity for money-making on maturity. difficult to estimate what total amount is received in aid by the recipient of an assisted education; but if I put it at 300l. I think that I shall be far below the average: however, I will leave it at that. It is obvious that it does no one good to go through life with a permanent money debt, and that it would be well to pay it off

as soon as pospibilized by Anya Samai Foundation Chennai and e Gangotri our exscholar's salary subject to a deduction of 30l. per annum for this time. Besides bare living and clothing expenses, in any of these professions there are 'special extras' which must be incurred if his work is to be really efficient. The purchase of books-for with the best of libraries handy, one does best work with one's own books-is one serious cause of outlay; or it may be instruments for his own research, or, if a doctor, for the more efficient treatment of his patients. Another, most important to a man engaged in education, is social intercourse with his pupils: going out on walks with them, asking them in to tea, or it may be supper, are not merely social pleasures to the young teacher: they are part of his function, and render more efficient the training he gives in official hours. Subscriptions to the clubs of the teaching institution are a matter of course. Vacation travel, to give a wider outlook, is advisable in all cases: nay, if the teacher's line be geology, it is an absolute necessity to keep his teaching and his progress in touch with Nature.

Moreover, apart from local subscriptions, he must subscribe to at least one society dealing with his scientific branch, or with his profession, such as, for instance, the Linnean or Geological Society, or the Assistant Schoolmasters' Association. If he be a doctor or a minister, a certain amount of private assistance to deserving cases, whether by way of forgoing hard-earned fees or of bestowing direct material assistance, will be a professional luxury that he will find it hard to resist constantly. If our man is very lucky he may begin with something like 150l. a year, but he may, on the contrary, have, if an optimist, to find himself 'passing rich on '901. 'a year.' If he has younger brothers or sisters of promise he will be expected to do his best for their education : if his parents have deprived themselves of his reasonable help when an adolescent, or scraped to give a necessary supplement to the funds available from the scholarship, he will want as a good son to sweeten their lot. Yet there is this weight of debt as a first charge. A little later, we may hope, his position is materially But the young doctor, the curate, the assistant master, the lecturer or demonstrator has no claim to sick pay, no insurance against unemployment or arbitrary dismissal: nay, the failure to commend himself to one chief will be a bar not only to promotion, but even to re-employment elsewhere. He ought certainly at this stage to make some sort of provision for the future, by insurance and by savings: but the scholarship debt stands in the way.

A little later he is in his thirtieth year, a time at which surely every man ought to think of marriage. But he has nothing put by to start housekeeping; and even if he has made his payments

in ful Pigitized by Arva Samai Foundation Chennai and a Gangotti of financial freedom. It is quite possible that for some time past womanly sympathy and affection have sweetened his work, that womanly encouragement has kept his intellectual aspirmions alive, and prevented his work from degenerating into the routine handingon of the lessons learnt long ago in his student days. Still, his engagement must drag along till he and his love join lots in middle life; and his children only learn to know him when sobered. saddened, and aged by a decade or two of unceasing money preoccupations. As Sterne said, 'They order this matter better in France,' where a given position in the professional world is held the equivalent of a good fat dowry; but for this there needs a complete change of public opinion in these countries. Nor is it to be expected that the qualities of the high-minded student should conduce to his success as an heiress-hunter. Indeed, even in France many professors have married portionless brides. has been written of race suicide in these last few years. Here we are directly discouraging the intellectual cream of the population from marriage during those years in which they are most likely to beget healthy offspring and to inspire them with the generous enthusiasms which assuredly will be destroyed, as we have seen, by the long years of privation of a happy home life. His children will be less well-born, less well-bred in every way and sense. the State afford this loss? What will the Eugenics Society say to the idea?

And the man's professional work: what of that? His intellectual play and productivity will have suffered; his sympathy with the young men and women who are his care and his associates will have been blunted in his narrowed life overshadowed by debt.

We have now traced our ex-scholar, embarrassed with the pious benefactions of his youth and adolescence, into early middle life; and the spectacle has not been a pleasant or a joyous one. But to grasp the full benefits of returnable scholarships we must consider his start in life, when fresh from college. Every bank has realised how disadvantageous to its service are the pecuniary straits of its employees; and in this matter Government has wisely taken a lesson from commerce. Does not the same hold good in professional careers? As a member of a governing body I profess that in the interests of the college I would ever give the preference for an appointment to a freeman over a bondsman. Already for less responsible posts, such as porters, we seek for army and navy pensioners, who are able to supplement the meagre wages available by the deferred pay that they have earned in the As we have seen, the pay of all young professionals is so low that a small reduction makes it inadequate to their If the pay, then, is normally to become subject to

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a serious deduction in the case of ex-scholars, preference will certainly come to be given to men of lower academic distinction, who will, however, be free for higher development in the exercise of their calling. We may anticipate a new terror in the interview of the 'selected candidates'; for we shall find the inquisitive member of the board putting questions after this pattern: 'I note that you held scholarships continuously during your school and college career: what was the total amount you have so received? Do you intend to refund it or any part of it? What arrangements do you propose to make to pay off this debt? Will you do so from your salary here, or have you private means? Do you think that with so small an income you can reasonably develop your talents in our college?' From this to the routine phrase in advertisements of vacancies, 'No ex-scholars need apply,' is but a small step. On the other hand, is it likely that rectors who need curates, established doctors who seek assistants, and especially teaching bodies, will raise the standard rates of pay to meet this new call on their young men? I fear not. And in the case of education, the only likely source from which the teaching fund could be augmented is that very scholarship fund whose increase the refundable scholarship is intended to effect! Instead of the surplus going to raise the salaries of eminent professors to the level of those of business men, it would now serve to enable the younger ones to return their scholarship earnings without detriment; and we should practically be at the same point from which we started.

What is the purpose of scholarships? We glanced at it earlier; but I think that the best short statement is that they serve to enrich the life of a country by providing training for those who are best fitted to receive it; they enrich not only the intellectual but the material life of the country by bringing into the learned and scientific professions those who will do best work in them. Every man worthy of the name feels bound to justify his position in the world to himself and to others. The man of money contributes willingly of his means to charities, public and private, and to various social objects, far more than the State takes from him for public purposes by taxation; and, what is more, he does it cheerfully and without grumbling : this fact was the justification of Auberon Herbert's plea for voluntary taxation. ex-scholar justifies his existence by his worldly success, for the world profits by fine work well done. Why should we risk marring this work for the sake of recovering that money which has been forthcoming in the past, and will be forthcoming in the future, from the enlightened man of means? I have known most intimately not only scholars but private beneficiaries; and their general feeling is that on them lies the strongest obligation

to give help of every kind to those who start from their own old stepping-off place, so that these in turn may rival or surpass their own success in the service of man. If once we make the actual money debt of definite amount the accepted obligation, if its integral repayment become a standard duty, we have an end to this ennobling and generous conception. Shall we not demoralise and sour the beneficiary who is never in a position to discharge this debt, by telling him that he should regard himself as a sort of bankrupt? He may be a great and inspiring trainer of men; he may add to the value of life by his researches like Faraday, like Leonard Hill of our own day; instead of giving of his best freely and generously to the world, as these did, he must sell his goods to the highest bidder or incur the reproach of willing, acquiescent insolvency. The evil will be proportionate to the moral value of the man whom it affects. The self-indulgent will always claim that the appointed time 'when circumstances permit' is not yet reached. The man who has repaid the money integrally will be tempted to think that the servitude to the endowment he has undergone for the repayment not only clears his pecuniary and moral debt, but leaves him with a big credit balance against humanity, and gives him the right to a good selfish time of his own. On the other hand, under present conditions and ideals, we find on all sides those who not only fulfil to the utmost. by their trained work and personality, their labours and their influence, what I have suggested the ideals of the ex-scholar should be; but who, further, having or having gained great riches, devote much of them to various purposes of the Alma Mater. without ever a thought that it absolves them from the filial debt, which they still proclaim with affectionate pride.

MARCUS HARTOG.

## AN OLD BOY'S IMPRESSION OF THE FOURTH OF JUNE AT ETON

I suppose that when a savage dresses himself up with paint and feathers on some state occasion he is only obeying the same ineradicable instinct of human nature which prompts the custom of the Freemason to don aprons and ribbons, the parson to assume bright robes, and the judge to retain the historic costume of a cardinal of the Middle Ages, to whose office he in a measure succeeds. We are accustomed to see women dressed in bright colours, but fashion, as well as climate, has enjoined a comparatively dull hue for male attire; nevertheless, there are times when the quiet and retiring man rushes with a wild joy into the bravery of fancy dress. Gorgeous theatrical mounting of plays and the recent rage for pageants are instances of this instinct for make-believe by means of costume, and we are still children to whom the fascination of finery is enduring.

There used to be few fancy-dress balls for which some Old Etonian would not ransack cupboard and drawer and produce a dusty old Fourth of June hat, prink the flowers, and furbish up the gold lace border, send the gay shirt and white ducks to the wash, and probably let out the waistband of the latter with a sigh; then he would squeeze his shoulders into the jacket, and step forth a decorative Jack Tar for the delectation of the ladies. His brass or gold sleeve-links were engraved with the crossed oars, the 'E.A.' denoting Eton Aquatics, and the Royal Crown which tradition tells that George the Fourth gave members of the Boats exclusive permission to wear, and it is probable that the turnout was not the least effective at the dance. You cannot glorify a soldier—the glitter of his full-dress uniform is part of his stock-in-trade, and as important as the man-millinery of a High Church curate; but that of an A.B. sailor of old time takes kindly to a little artistic decoration. There are few dresses more becoming to a good-looking, wellbuilt young man than the Fourth of June uniform of the There is something about this sailor's costume which conveys the suggestion of perennial youth; perhaps it is in the short jacket and white linen, or perhaps the association may be traced to the nursery.

Montem, that carnival of coetume and daighway robbery, in which salt was demanded from the casual wayfarer—tradition runs that the King was stopped on Windsor Bridge and 'salt' peremptorily, but respectfully, requested, and that he goodhumouredly responded to the tune of five pounds-Montem, I say, has long since become historical. Election Saturday, a similar institution to the 'Fourth,' was abolished in 1871; let us then cling to the one festival in which Eton may dress herself up and go a-maying. Even the sober dignity of Sixth Form is not exempt from the tyranny of the tailor, for they have to don knee breeches, wherein to spout their speeches to the Provost, Headmaster, and the assembled multitude in Upper As a preparation for this ordeal in my time the services of Frank Tarver as coach were usually reverted to; he was the mentor in matters dramatic, and indeed it would not have been a bad thing if the whole school had partaken of his teaching in rhetoric and elocution. How many Etonians have been pitchforked into the world, to fill important positions in which the art of speechmaking is essential, without a notion of how to stand and face an audience, how to manage the voice, or how to emphasise a phrase with an appropriate gesture? Even the art of reading aloud is neglected, and I have heard the noblest passages of Scripture so murdered by parsons at the lectern that it was well-nigh impossible to follow with an open Bible, and this from the lack of a few simple lessons in elocution. There are few men who have never had occasion to make a speech in public; and, seeing that oratory is seldom a matter of instinct or heredity, at least in England, why should not a simple training in elocution be a necessary part of public school teaching?

Outside 'Pop,' our only training was the House Debate, and that consisted of speeches delivered in jerky sentences across the table of the Boys' Library of a Saturday night; this helped us in a measure to think on our feet, but gave us no facility in addressing a large audience. Our very juvenile debates ran somewhat on the following lines. We preserved all the outward decorum of a deliberative assembly, in which our chairman was always addressed as 'Mr. President.' He would first call on Mr. Brown to open the debate on, say, the character Brown would then rise with modest dignity, of Napoleon. drawing from his pocket some notes hastily compiled from Erckmann-Chatrian and other historic works, and deliver his opinion interspersed with copious pauses filled in with 'Let me see,' 'What was I going to say?' Then Smith would interpolate 'Up Guards and at 'em! Spit it out old man; don't be shy,' which would draw down the retort of 'Shut up, you

ass; how can I speak if you interrupt?' Then the President would rap on the table with a paper-knife. Order, gentlemen! Mr. Smith, you will have your turn presently.' He could always keep order by threatening to call on you to speak. Smith, who had not intended to speak at all, would then seize on a piece of 'broadrule' paper and scribble down some notes for the coming ordeal, while Brown dilated on the curses of conscription till he wound up with, 'I don't think I can add any more.' 'Hear, hear!' from the rest of the House. Then Mr. Jones. the clever one, hot from Carlyle, would rise and expatiate on the 'unutterable chaos' produced in Europe by Napoleonic ambition, and plaintively allude to childless mothers and the sacrifice of human life; even the average stature of the Gallic race had been permanently reduced by these bloody wars. would produce a protest. 'Was the hon. member in order in using such language?' Jones was never at a loss. 'I was simply using the term in its epexegetical sense.' Only a few, and they but dimly, had any notion of what 'epexegetical' meant, but we were always impressed with the mental agility of Jones. Generally Napoleon would be pretty roughly handled till Robinson rose, who always differed from everyone. He had no patience with people who ran down the Army-he was going into the Army himself-all countries had become great by warlike means. Look at Rome. Napoleon was a great man because he had nearly conquered the world, he had rebuilt Paris, codified the law, &c.; in short, he was quite a decent sort of chap.

Then Smith, who thought he had been forgotten during the speeches of Jones and Robinson, would be called upon by the President, in spite of 'Beastly shame! All right, I'll not forget this,' muttered in an undertone. He would rise and spread out his broadrule paper. 'Let me see, do I agree with Mr. Jones? Oh yes, I do. He said,' &c., &c. His intention was to disagree with most of the speeches because he thought it more clever to disagree; but, after sitting on the fence and hanging on to his speech like grim death, he usually ended by agreeing with everyone with glorious inconsistency because he had forgotten to put down the objections he intended to make. Smith fully prepared was a strange performance, but Smith unprepared was like Blondin without his pole.

Such was the only training in elocution which we had in the 'seventies. When, therefore, we assembled in Upper School to see the great impassive swells in the Sixth Form, clad in dress coats and knee breeches, declaiming fragments of the classics before an array of dignitaries with the fervent gesticulations and vivacity of old stagers, we recognised with astonish-

ment Plaitized by Arva Samai Floundation Chennai and eGangotri When some quiet, studious little Colleger, who was only known as a 'sap,' cast aside his shyness and, with but an occasional halt, gave us a dim idea of the humour of a Dogberry or a Sneer we were amazed, and cheered accordingly.

Tarver was greatly proud of his elocution, and was always open to be 'drawn' in that direction during our French lesson. If it were possible to pronounce the words on purpose more vilely than usual, we did it, and he would interfere with nerves on edge as at a scraped slate pencil. 'Stop, stop!' he would cry; 'that is not the way to pronounce it. Now listen.' And then he would recite it ore rotundo, upon which we would applaud, and say how fine it was, and ask him to go on. He, nothing loth, would continue, carried away by the swing of the language, till much of the school time was consumed. Though our Eton French was not very extensive under his tuition, he certainly showed us how musical the language could sound—under certain circumstances!

But to return to the Fourth of June. The cricket in Upper Club in the afternoon was rather a full-dress affair, carried on in the presence of a band and strolling spectators, the topic of conversation being not so much the issue of a one day's match as the form displayed by the Eton team, and the chances of certain wearers of 'twenty-two' caps to get their 'flannels' and play at Lord's. Next to the Eton and Harrow match, it is the largest open-air meeting where Etonians gather together, where greybeards, who haven't seen each other for years, meet and talk over old times and discuss their contemporaries. Sometimes it is an unprophesied success in life. 'Did you think he had it in him? I thought he was a bit of a "scug." remember licking him once because he hadn't washed his neck.' Sometimes the talk turns on one of fortune's derelicts. wonder what happened to Brown?' 'Oh, don't you know? bit too fond of the sex. There was a row about it in India, and he had to come home; then he tried being a "bookie" for some time, but wasn't sharp enough to keep his end up. The last I heard of him he was driving a cab in London-wanted to drive Jones for nothing, for old sakes, but Jones made him take a sovereign all the same.' Such comments on life may be overheard in a casual conversation between old schoolfellows.

Here you may see the diplomat, the warrior, the Jew financier, the noble, and the divine being bear-led by their sons in the bravery of buttonhole and white waistcoat round the familiar haunts of Poet's Walk; and the mature angler will magnify by many pounds the pike he caught in Fellows' Pond, and the effect it produced on his digestion. And then, for those who

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri are historically minded, a stroll round that upper gallery of the Cloisters where engraved, drawn, and even caricatured, the great ones of Eton hang enshrined. Here you may wander in cool silence, and muse on the worthies of past time.

Here Sir Henry Wotton, the greatest of the Provosts, an incomparable letter writer, poet, ambassador to Venice, friend of the best spirits of his time, whose warning to the Church remains enshrined in his epitaph, 'Disputandi pruritus, ecclesiarum scabies,' gazes at you with critical but not unkindly eyes in the musty old engraving.

Next to him, his predecessor, Sir Henry Savile, the 'extraordinarily handsome man, no lady had a finer complexion,' whose creamy pallor may be verified by a look at the oil portrait of him in the Provost's lodge, the scholar, the translator of the Bible, student of St. Chrysostom, a bookworm in every line. His eye has not the bright inquiring look of Wotton, the diplomatist, but the quiet lustre of contemplation. One can fancy him saying 'Give me the plodding student. If I would look for wits, I should go to Newgate.'

Then Dr. Arne, seated at the spinet, with the corners of his mouth drawn down as if he smelt a bad smell, the effect perhaps of church music upon an emotional nature, yet with a dash of pride as he looks down his nose at the obedient fingers.

Shelley too, with the dreamy eyes of a girl, wistfully gazing out of the portrait, and translating common objects into poetical phantasy, his dishevelled hair and negligent collar typical of his wayward nature. Mr. Nugent Bankes has described the scorn of the average Etonian for the budding satirist; small wonder was it that the young poet, who doubtless loafed most profitably, became the butt of his companions, and a safe 'draw' on account of his ungovernable rages. His is not the face of an athlete, but that of a boy of imagination, whose character is well described by John Moultrie:

Pensive he was, and grave beyond his years,
And happiest seemed when, in some shady nook
(His wild sad eyes suffused with silent tears),
O'er some mysterious and forbidden book.
He pored until his frame with strong emotion shook.

Not far off hangs a contrast in character—the neat portrait of Mackworth Praed, with silky hair, flowing in studied negligence, the poet of the ballroom, whose well-dressed verses delighted a former age and may be regarded in a measure as the prototype of the Bab Ballads.

Dr. Keate, a flogger of many delinquents, and Dr. Goodall are portrayed in silhouette: the one a short sturdy figure, a combination of Napoleon and a washerwoman, with cocked hat

worn squitzed by Mya Sarraji Foundating Chemei and Gangotti, the other a courtly gentleman arrayed point device even to the bunch of seals depending from his fob, and hugging his cane under his elbow as he hurries along with short steps; no florescent detail here, but the bare character in outline of two great Headmasters.

Many Church dignitaries are here, but none more typically Etonian than the handsome, alert young Bishop Selwyn, looking equally ready to 'row a match' with you or show you the way of salvation. His figure is full of energy, and is radiant with the gospel of cheerful effort as he leans lightly on the Bible. Gladstone, with clasped hands, tensely confronts an opponent; and Lord Salisbury, bowed with the weight of European affairs, gazes into the future with a sad prophetic eye.

Thomas Gray, holding a piece of paper in an exquisitely feminine hand—is it a matchless ode, or one of his charming letters from abroad to Mr. West or his mother?—with large contemplative eyes and a sad, pensive look, which makes one wonder whether all poets in those days had large eyes or whether

artists gave them such because they wrote poetry.

Henry Fielding, the great Etonian novelist, law-giver too, and philanthropist, is drawn by Hogarth with no flattering hand. His bewigged profile looks like a benevolent, and at the same time satirical, nutcracker, indicating truly the character that said sharp things, but did kindly acts.

Lord Robert Manners, the hero of George Crabbe's Village, the bright, young, handsome naval captain, killed in battle in 1782, and typical of so many other Etonians; one excuses Crabbe's somewhat fulsome praise of him from a semi-domestic position if he really was as beautiful as Sir Joshua makes him.

It is well to pause and take stock of these leaders of men, and to speculate on how much or how little each of them owed his success to his old school, and whether or not some little stimulus given, or lesson learnt, roused the energies towards

climbing the peaks of life.

Your duty towards the past, however, is not exhausted till you have strolled into College Hall and viewed the portraits of those distinguished alumni who have secured a place in that select gallery; and, finally, at the foot of the stairs you find that battered monument of our ancestors which will outlast, let us hope, all water companies and such makeshifts of artificial purification—the College Pump. Its brown iron handle is smooth from the grasp of countless generations, and the edges of its stone trough worn by the lustrations of 'Tugs' innumerable, long since gone to their rest. A few strokes, and out gushes such water pure from Nature's filter, and so cold that, like that of a mountain spring, it seems to taste of the rock.

THE MINDIPENTAL OFFILERA

June

You may say with Apenantus Here's that which discongereak to be a sinner, honest water, which ne'er left man i' the mire.' Perhaps it is the rain of your father's time which has percolated by slow degrees through the hard sponge of the earth till it has trickled into the depths below, for no one knows how long such vintage has been laid down in bottle; but its crust it has dropped long ago, and it has a tang of age about it.

But you did not quench your thirst at this spring, for there was tea to be had, either at Layton's up Windsor, or at 'my tutor's' in a boy's room. If the latter, it was a 'sock' tea, furnished with delicacies from Barnes Brown, cakes from Atkins's, and, most important of all, strawberries from Mother Lipscombe. Sometimes the latter were bought in the street in pottles, ingenious cornucopias invented in the interests of the seller, whereby a few showy specimens at the top covered the poorness of the fruit beneath. Out of these, with the addition of cream, a tolerable strawberry mess could be obtained, but not so luxurious as that garnished with the ice cream of Messrs. Layton.

Soon the street begins to look bright with gay ribbons, white ducks, and gold lace, sported by many a jolly young waterman, some of them looking a trifle shy and uncomfortable in their finery; but this wears off so soon as they take their seats in the boat, and are supported by their comrades. The little coxswains, dressed like glorified middies and resplendent admirals, hold in their hands, like shy debutantes, the huge bouquets which it is the tradition for the captain of their boat to give them. There are many ways of trying to look unconcerned in a novel and striking dress in the public street, and few manage to do it successfully. Even the old hands find that long ribbons hanging down over the right ear will press themselves on the attention and sometimes tickle, and the eye instinctively wanders downward past the gaudy shirt to see if the trousers hang right over the buckled shoes, and the hand strays furtively up to feel if the tie is straight. But once at the Brocas and all thought of dress vanishes, for they settle down in their places like experienced oarsmen. It was not till about 1877 that the custom was adopted of sending the Eight as a separate crew in the procession of boats, but it has since been rightly discarded, because the final representative crew which is to row at Henley is not, and never can be, fixed so early in the rowing season. It is curious that an eight-oar should be the permanent type for boat racing, for we never hear of a six-oar or a twelve-oar being built. Probably experiments have been tried in that direction, and the old type of craft proved the best; but I cannot help thinking that a race at Henley between ten oars or Dignized Sy Arya Sama Roundation Chemmal and Deciangottaffair, and it might be interesting to see if they would prove faster than eight oars.

The head boat of Eton, the Monarch, being a ten-oar, always had a solid air of dignity about it. It was the House of Lords among the boats, and contained scholars and men who did not go in for the strenuous career of racing; and sometimes the Captain of the School, or the Captain of the Eleven, was asked to take an oar in it honoris causa, consequently the form displayed was not always the best. But in spite of an occasional attempt to catch crabs, there was always a leisurely stateliness about the old boat, and the fact that the Captain of the Boats always rowed stroke gave it a prestige above all the others. The boat itself was constantly had in requisition by parties of old Etonians and masters calling themselves 'Ancient Mariners,' and also by boys, for expeditions up the river when they had a 'bill' off 'absence.' Next in the fleet came the Victory, the neatest crew of all, in their light blue stripes; then the Prince of Wales, usually called 'Third Upper,' these three being the Upper Boats. Then the Lower Boats, led by the Britannia, in their order, steered by the coxswains in their dark blue jackets, looking like pouter pigeons with their bouquets pinned to their You may see now the same uniforms and the same colours worn as were in vogue in the 'seventies, except that I am told each boat does not retain its particular cap and blazer, but the ordinary colours are lumped together according to Upper or Lower Boat choices, &c. This, no doubt, is for economy's sake, for under the old system, when you obtained a 'draught,' or move into a higher boat, a new uniform had to be purchased; but it is to be hoped no further changes will be made. Two important changes were made during that decade; a new boat, called the Alexandra, after the then Princess of Wales, was added to the list, with colours of black and white; and one which we regretted at the time, viz. the change of the colours of the Dreadnought from the red check on a white ground to pink rings on a white ground. The old colours were distinctive, original, and not unbecoming, whereas the new had a way of looking faded and old at once, and for a time we called them in derision the 'Neapolitan ice colours.' I was wearing an old Dreadnought cap one day at Henley Regatta, when I was spotted by the sharp eye of the nigger minstrel 'Squash.' ' Make way there, you toff with the chessboard cap,' he shouted over a mass of boats, 'my move, I think.'

In those days the boats rowed up to Surley for their 'supper on Boveney Meads,' accompanied by a string of spectators, who walked along the bank. Tables were laid in a field opposite Surley Hall, and the great ones like dogs at a rich man's table, and their importunacy was sometimes rewarded by glasses of champagne.

Carving with elbow nudges,
Lobsters we throw behind,
Vinegar nobody grudges,
Lower boys drink it blind,

was a very fine description of our saturnalia, and it was a common thing to ply a small boy with liquor to see how much he could stand. The lower boy, not having a seasoned head, frequently found his feet too few for him on his way back to his tutor's, and

got into trouble in consequence.

This crowd of youngsters clamouring for food and drink outside the hurdles was not an edifying spectacle, and the authorities have since wisely changed the venue of the feast to a more private place. As for the old salts, they took care to eat plenty as well as drink, so that if there was a little difficulty in getting into the boat with that neatness and skill which you would expect of a good waterman, the row down stream nearly always brought surrounding objects into their proper places. After all, to stand up in an eight-oar with saluting oars is a great test of sobriety, perhaps better than 'British Constitution' pronounced at the police station, and the former test we always had awaiting us. It was well if the boat was musical, for a chorus was sure to arise on the journey down stream, or passing through Boveney Lock. Then, as it grew darker and darker, the cox's voice yelling his orders, and 'Look ahead, sir,' would become more insistent and louder, till it became merged in the clash of the Windsor bells and the cheers from the bank as you slowly approached Brocas Eyot. A few strokes, and the captain gave the word of command, and you raised your oar in the air, climbed up it like a monkey, and stood while you floated by the row of fireworks on the eyot spitting and sometimes sputtering at you. This habit of the men who let off the fireworks excited the censure of the young lions of the Eton College Chronicle in 1876, in language worthy of a leading article of The Times. 'We cannot conclude without expressing a hope that on the next Fourth of June Mr. Brock and his assistants will refrain from discharging fireworks at the boats, as such a proceeding neither adds to the impressiveness of the scene, nor conduces materially to the comfort of the crews.'

Then, after passing this ordeal by fire, you sat down, turned the boat rapidly below bridge, so as not to be drawn into the

lasher below 'Cobbler's Needle,' the spit of land which divides the main river from the lock cut, and landed at the rafts perhaps with the aid of 'Sambo.'

I have thus particularised what used to take place in the 'seventies, because the boats no longer row up to Surley, and the fireworks are displayed below Windsor Bridge, opposite Fellows' Eyot. I do not wish to cavil at the change, for there were elements of old-fashioned greed in the public supper at Boveney which smacked too much of the early Georgian period, and the temptation to the lower boy to become intoxicated has been removed; moreover, there is greater space in the new site in

which the spectators can view the fireworks.

Once we had landed at the Brocas, and the visitors from London had crossed the bridge, en route for the station, and were out of our way, we used to link arms and walk back, six or eight abreast, occupying the middle of the street, and singing choruses, and he who attempted to bar our progress was like to have a bad time of it, for was not Barnes Pool perilously near? For to us this linked march of jolly companions was the outward visible sign of the confraternity of wet bobs, and we displayed ourselves to the world at large once a year as a united band. Then, as the 'lock up' bells began to sound from the various houses, and the population of the street to melt away, we separated, each to his own house, to sleep that excellent sleep which nature gives to those who have done themselves well. There may have been elements of orgy still hanging about our festival which the pious and sad-eyed critic may deplore, but life would indeed be dull without a tincture of the carnival spirit, the love of good cheer and gay dress; and it will be a bad day for Eton if she ever ceases to celebrate the birthday of George the Fourth in the old accustomed way.

GILBERT COLERIDGE.

## AT THE SALON AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY

It may be remembered that when my friends Sir John and Lady Bilderby 1 made the tour of the Salon picture galleries last year, under the wing of M. de L'Atelier, they had not time (or shall we say space?) to examine the sculpture. I am sure they did so afterwards; but to say truth, it is rather too common with English visitors to an exhibition to devote nearly all their time to the pictures, and only spare a hurried glance at the sculpture before leaving. This is hardly fair to the sculptors (who, however, in England, are pretty well used to neglect and indifference); but it is also unfair to themselves, as starving their own esthetic education, in neglecting a form of art which deals much more largely with abstract symbolism than modern painting usually does. For though the great end of all art is symbolism and not realism, painting is founded on realism to begin with; and so many spectators (and some painters) get no further than the half-way house, and are content with outward shows of life, their appreciation of which may be reduced to the shorthand form, 'it is like,' or 'it is not like ':

That's the very man! Look at the boy who stoops to pat the dog:

and so on. It is an innocent recreation, which makes no great strain on the intellect (though, be it remembered, the producing of it means considerable ability and severe training on the part of the painter); and so painting is naturally the more popular art. For sculpture, in spite of the fact that it deals with actual form in the round instead of the projection of form on a plane surface, cannot pretend to the realistic representation of life which appeals to everyday experience. It is a severely limited art, dealing with severely designed form, executed in a monumental material; dealing more especially with the nude human figure, in which alone precision of line is of such importance and difficulty as to justify the monumental material; many things may be worth painting which it is not worth while to carve in marble. Sculpture may

<sup>1.</sup> Conversations at the Salon and the Royal Academy,' by H. Heathcote Statham, Nineteenth Contury and After, June 1911.

thrive on mere beauty of form—that is achievement enough to justify it; but its highest aim is the symbolising of an idea through human form—an aim which is not readily appreciated by the popular mind, on this side of the Channel at all events. In France it may be, for at the Salon there is more of symbolic sculpture than is to be found elsewhere, and that would hardly be the case did not such work find encouragement and sympathy.

Let us then, this time, begin our brief survey with the sculpture, which in fact is the strongest element at the Salon. The vast sculpture hall contains, as usual, nearly a thousand works in sculpture (960, to be precise) prepared for one year's exhibition -an extraordinary testimony to the artistic energy and vitality of the French nation. French sculpture is perhaps not all that it was ten or fifteen years ago, but in the present exhibition you cannot move many steps in any direction without coming on something worth attention. The large works which occupy the axis of the hall are not the best this year. M. Bacqué has a colossal monument to Michelangelo representing him on horseback, in a broad-brimmed hat, on the top of a rock-like eminence, from the sides of which grow blocked-out ébauches of some of his own works -Day and Night, and others. This is rather like making Michelangelo supply his own monument. M. Laporte-Blairsy's monumental fountain to the memory of Clémence Isaure, 'créatrice des ieux floraux (XVe siècle),' to be erected in a public place in Toulouse, is a work showing a good deal of piquant and original fancy in the details, but wants architectural coherence as a whole. Another great monument for the same city-Aux Gloires de Toulouse, by M. Ducuing, is on a triangular plan, with a lofty stele rising in the centre, at the base of which are three colossal seated figures, representing 'Sculpture and Painting,' 'Architecture' (a portrait figure of Bachelier), and 'A Troubadour'; the stele crowned by a figure of the same Clémence Isaure to whom the fountain is dedicated. The architectural portion of the monument is very well designed; the defect of the thing, as a whole, is that the figures at the base seem too accidentally placed and not sufficiently connected with the architectural centre. Across the top end of the hall extends M. Bouchard's immense group of six great oxen yoked in pairs and drawing a very rustic-looking plough, which appeared here in plaster some years ago under the same title, Le Défrichement, and is now translated into bronze. This is a work of great power in its way, a kind of sculptural glorification of French agricultural labour; but where is such a thing to be placed? It seems too large to deal with; nothing is said of its destination.

The honours of the Salon are more with some of the smaller works this year; notably, perhaps, with M. Alfred Boucher for

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotri two works of very different kind, each equally perfect in its way. One is a female figure, said to be a portrait, wearing a helmet and clad entirely in such close-fitting tights as to seem practically nude, buckling on a sword-belt, with the title S'il le faut. Nothing could exceed the mastery with which this fine figure is modelled, though the whole thing is somewhat of a puzzle. His other work is a beautiful seated and clothed figure, hands clasped round her knees, with the title La Rêverie; as an example of the poetry of sculpture this is no doubt the finest thing in the collection. The figure is clothed not in what is usually called 'drapery,' but in a rather short skirt, not too realistically treated. But it loses nothing of its poetic character by this; and it may be observed that in a general way a seated figure is, in a sculptural sense, better clothed than nude—at all events in the lower portion; it wants the clothing to give breadth of surface. M. Gustave Michel, one of the most able and thoughtful of French sculptors of the day. exhibits a model on a small scale of a monument to Beethoven, which ought to work out into something fine on a larger scale. It is a composition in a generally pyramidal form, the lower part occupied by symbolical figures, not representing individually any of Beethoven's compositions—the sculptor carefully avoided that as 'discutable'-but symbolising the passions, the griefs, the struggles, which lay at the basis of his works; the work culminating in a group, above the composer's figure (which appears at halflength in the upper portion of the composition), representing the joy of life. I should like to hear that the sculptor had a commission to carry this out on a large scale; it is a monument with an idea in it, and there is a tumultuous character in its lines which suits its great subject.

M. Jean-Boucher (with a hyphen, please, to distinguish him from Alfred Boucher) has taken for his principal work a great historic subject, Réunion de la Bretagne à la France, which is symbolised by a collection of figures in a semicircular alcove under a semi-dome-figures 'in their coats, their hosen, their hats, and their other garments,' which are rather too realistic for the purposes of sculpture; he is just saved by the 'great laps and folds of sculptor's work ' in the sumptuous mantle of ' La Bretagne.' This is probably a State commission; the artist, who has produced some of the most poetic works in sculpture of the present day (notably Antique et Moderne), would hardly have chosen it of his own accord. The State is somewhat anxious to make use of sculpture to impress its own ideas upon the public. Family life is to be encouraged, so the State purchases M. Bigonet's group Premier Pas, a peasant mother encouraging her infant to walk: Millet in the round, one may say. With a similar aim it purchases M. Hugues's group, Le Poème de la Terre : l'enfant, le soldat, le Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri vieillard récompensé de son labeur. Here is the whole theory of virtuous republican life in a nutshell; the mother and infant on one side of the base of a pyramidal composition; on the other side the young soldier, rifle and all, prepared to defend his country; at the apex of the pyramid the old man, to whom some nude agrarian nymphs offer up the fruits of the earth, the recompense of his toil. M. Hugues is a fine sculptor, who has done some notable worksno one who saw it will ever forget La Muse de la Source; but he has made a mistake here in mixing up realistic with nude allegorical figures in the same group. But the most portentous sign of the times in sculpture is the huge relief composition, on a curved plan, a commission from the State to M. Daillion, entitled Aux Morts! Aux Exilés! (2 Décembre 1851). On the face of the work are the figures of those killed or exiled in connexion with the Coup d'état, a nude Victor Hugo standing out conspicuous on the right; on the top is the mailed figure of France, with a broken sword, trying to keep off the beak of the Imperial Eagle. So the memory of Badinguet has come to this! 'The evil that men do lives after them'; but one might add the context: 'The good is oft interred with their bones.' It seems rather ungrateful; France made much of him at one time, and would still consecrate his memory, if her own cry of 'à Berlin' had led to a satisfactory result. A finer piece of political symbolism is to be seen in M. Marx's Le Joug de la Victoire, also a State commission; a figure of Victory, with one knee on a shield beneath which two men are crouched, bent double like the souls in the tenth book of the Purgatorio who bore heavy stones on their backs:

> E qual più pazïenza avea negli atti Piangendo parea dicer: Più non posso.

That is a moral we may all take to heart; and it is expressed in

fine sculptural form.

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Leaving these moralities and turning to works that are purely artistic in their intent, one may note that M. Mercié's chief contribution is an heroic-size bronze figure of Columbia for some monument in America; he has done better things, but the head and the action are fine, as they could hardly fail to be in his hands. Inspiration and Harmonie, by M. Convers, are two fine half-recumbent figures forming part of a decoration for the courtyard of the National Conservatoire of Music: they take opposite sides of the base of a decorative column. 'Inspiration,' gazing straight before her, is a noble figure answering to the title; 'Harmonie' he has endeavoured to symbolise by making her half turn her head to listen to some birds, which, as a musician once complained, 'sing so horribly out of tune,' and certainly 'the music of nature' is an idea rather passe now; it might have done

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for Herbert Spencer, but we know that music no more arose out of natural sounds than Gothic vaulting out of the imitation of M. Hippolyte Lefebvre, usually the patron of realistic sculpture, exhibits a spirited fronton for the theatre of Lille, symbolising Apollo; it will look better when it has the boundary lines of the pediment to control it. M. Charpentier's Fleurs qu'il aimait is a very graceful relief figure of a nude girl reaching up to kiss a cluster of roses. M. Villeneuve exhibits a half-size model of a monument to Rabelais for the town of Montpellier, a semiarchitectural erection, with heads of Pantagruel and Gargantua worked into it, and a gowned figure in front representing the Faculté de Médecine studying Rabelais' translation of the aphorisms of Hippocrates; and M. Corneille Theunissen exhibits the base of a monumental stele to Jules Breton, with one of Breton's own peasant figures seated by it. M. Desca's full-length figure of Berlioz is too quiet and contemplative for Berlioz, who was nothing if not a fighter; this hardly gives one an idea of the composer who stamped his feet at the Conservatoire orchestra-'Faster! faster! This is a Saltarello!' to the scandal of the respectable Habeneck. As to the number of single figures that are simply charming, any one of which would arrest attention at the Academy, it would be impossible to name half of them. One little incident may be quoted as characteristic; Mlle. Bois exhibits a pretty nude child figure, Petite Baigneuse, supposed to be standing before the sea, but she is not content to leave it at that; a new significance is given to it by the couplet engraved beneath it:

> Et devant l'océan l'enfant tremble et frémit, Et devant l'Infini l'humanité recule.

One example among many of the wish of French sculptors to attach some poetic meaning to what might otherwise be regarded

as a mere piece of modelling.

It is not worth while to pass the wicket to look at the sculpture in the New Salon: 'that way madness lies'; it is a sort of sculptural Golgotha, where one may see legs, arms, and heads as separate exhibits. Let us go up the stairs to No. 1 Gallery, and see what the painters have to show us. There are two large decorative paintings in this room; one is M. J. P. Laurens's Première Séance solennelle des Jeux floraux (3 Mai 1324), a subject which seems rather prominent this year; we have already seen the great fountain downstairs in commemoration of the event (which, by the way, is there noted as 'XV century'). M. Laurens's picture shows rows of spectators seated beneath a mass of trees outside the city walls, listening to some declamation from a personage on a platform in the foreground; it is painted with a dry facture which suggests the idea that it is intended for tapestry,

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotri though not quite decorative enough in composition for that method. The other work referred to is M. Gorguet's huge ceiling for a Salle des Mariages, of which neither the title ('Prairial') nor the treatment is very intelligible, but which is totally unsuited for a ceiling, in that it is a vertical or pyramidal composition, as if designed for an upright position; a ceiling painting should always be an all-round composition, not one with a base and an apex. Some French painters understand this very well, and have given fine examples of it; this one, quâ ceiling painting, is a mistake. The only two other things of much interest in the large room are M. Didier-Pouget's two landscapes; rather too scenic, but with his usual extraordinary power of effect in the foregrounds. English public are very fond of realism in landscape; one would like to see one of Didier-Pouget's landscapes at the Academy-it would create a sensation, at all events, in that respect.

There is a much larger proportion of comparatively uninteresting work among the pictures than among the sculpture; still, one can hunt up plenty of fine things out of the acreage of canvas. M. Paul Chabas repeats a motive he has used once or twice before, a young girl standing in shallow water, the centre incident in a large canvas; in this one, Matinée de septembre, he has aimed at a bright effect in the whole; the girl with her blonde head must nevertheless show darker than the background, so the lake and the mountains are all kept in a shimmering silver light. With the various nudes of which 'après le bain' is the common denominator we need not trouble ourselves; but there are nude paintings which rise above the level of 'ces machines-là,' either by sheer splendour of execution, as in M. Guay's Nu, or by their decorative effect, as in M. Moulin's long low picture Plein air: femme nue, where the figure lies at length on a purple mantle, with a background of foliage and the gleam of an evening sky through the leaves. M. Aimé Morot is rather below himself in his small picture Ephémère printemps, where a nude lady with her back to the spectator studies her figure in the looking glass: a piece of trickery unworthy of so fine a painter. M. Saintpierre brings the nude into the region of allegory with his figure of Fortune tiptoe on her wheel among the clouds, showering coinage from a cornucopia, while a lappet of wind-blown drapery covers her eyes; there is a fine energy and 'go' about it. Mlle. Rondenay brings us to the other extreme, the anti-poetical, of nude painting, in her Baigneuses, somewhat similar to that which was bought by the Government last year; she is no doubt a very powerful plein-air painter of the figure, but she tends to get coarse, not only in execution but in another sense; in London the picture would hardly be thought decent, and it is certainly not beautiful. Quite above all these is M. Lavergne's Le Paradis perdu; Adam and Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri. Eve, life-size and painted in a very broad style of execution, seated in the foreground of a melancholy twilight landscape. The remarkable quality in this is the fine sense of unity of composition in the lines of the figures and the landscape, all of which fall together as one whole: it is in the true sense a picture, not a mere

representation. Among what may be called the subject pictures of the year M. Debat-Ponsan, who last year symbolised France as a white horse throwing over Napoléon, is again dealing with horses, but this time they are two material cavalry horses held by an orderly dragoon in the foreground while the officer uses his field-glass: Ceux qui veillent is the title. M. Debat-Ponsan is always either patriotic or moral in his pictures, but it is always good painting. M. Tattegrain, too, is a versatile incident painter who seems able to handle every kind of subject with effect; this time it is a powerfully painted rocky coast scene, which gets its title Sauveteurs d'épaves (in other words, 'wreckers') from the two unkempt wolfish figures who nearly tumble over each other down the foreground path in their hurry to hook in flotsam and jetsam on the beach. He has done more interesting pictures, but these two figures are unpleasantly real. Mme. Demont-Breton, who disappointed us last year, is more like herself again with the figure of the old peasant woman, L'Aïeule, looking lovingly on her sleeping grandson; but I like her better at the seaside than inland. M. Henri Martin has what may be called a decorative painting in his pointilliste style, Dévideuses, two girls sitting on opposite ends of a rail, with a landscape behind them: a rather trivial subject to come from M. Martin. M. Roganeau has come rather near making a great picture in his large evening landscape Le Soir à la Rivière, with figures of women filling their waterpots out of the stream (a most unhygienic proceeding) and moving away with them; the figures are not quite interesting enough, but there is a large, calm serenity about the whole which is impressive. M. Joseph Bail, in La Lectrice, has forsaken that characterless type in his figures which Lady Bilderby approved of, and paints a young and old lady of strongly differentiated type; the accessories are painted with his usual power of execution, but the work is more frankly genre than has been usual with him.

Among pictures which have some special point of interest is M. Martens's experiment, in Rayon de Soleil, in producing an interior effect of light and colour, with a seated nude figure, in an ultra-pointilliste method of execution; one would not like to see all pictures painted that way, but this one is very clever and effective. M. Montchablon has painted a ghastly picture of the rowing-deck of a galley, La Chiourme, that terrible tragedy of human beings reduced to machines which so stained the naval

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotti history of Rome and of Renaissance Italy. This, one may say, is one of the pictures painted to point a moral, or to make us realise something that once happened; which is not the real business of art, of course, nor of novel-writing, nor of drama. Nevertheless moral lessons have been powerfully driven home both in novel and drama, and one does not see why painting may not be occasionally pressed into the same service. French are so essentially artists, there are always some moral pictures in the Salon, some very good ones; M. Geoffroy's, for instance, A l'hospice des enfants assistés: l'abandon d'un enfant: a tragedy in humble life powerfully told; and another rather amusing example is M. Steck's Le soir au bord du Legué, a decorative picture for the Salle des Mariages at Saint-Brieuc. Here we have the happy result of marriage: the family group of the artisan, the artisan's wife, and their child, all enjoying a holiday on the heights above the river. Thus does a paternal Republic encourage its citizens with the spectacle of the joys of family life. Among other points in the Salon are M. Georges Leroux's painting of an evening dinner under the loggia of the Villa Medici, with the heavy masses of trees dark against the twilight sky (the figures are rather commonplace); the odd idea of Mlle. Bonnier of a triptych of vêtements feminins: matin; après-midi; soir-garments et praeterea nihil (a lady to whom I mentioned this seemed exceedingly interested in the idea); and M. Mercié's portrait of a pretty little child under the title La Puce, with a flea delicately painted on the frill of her dress—a rather unpleasing joke for a great artist to indulge in.

There are a great many fine portraits, among which M. Humbert's Portrait de Mdlle. N. . . . is perhaps the finest example of perfectly balanced style in painting in the whole Salon; some of the best French portrait-painters over-accentuate the costume in their portraits of ladies, so that it becomes a picture of the lady's dress rather than of herself; M. Humbert never makes this mistake, he knows exactly where to stop. has an expressive portrait of Mme. Marcelle Tinayre, the novelist; and M. Umbricht a charming one of his own daughter, in which he avoids the hardness of texture which some eminent French painters-M. Comerre, for instance-fall into in their over-finished productions. Important landscapes are not very numerous, but there are some very fine examples of that breadth of style which the best French landscape painters cultivate. French landscape would be thought by many English people coarse in style in comparison with much of ours; but the French do not paint pretty landscapes (except M. Biva, who in that way at least stands alone); they want the power and sweep of sunshine and shadow, as My Aposicinal Syncetical Charles of Carqueiranne and his Sunset after Rain at Venice. A more perfect example of style and composition in landscape could hardly be found than La Dune et le chêne vert by M. Cabié, a worthy pupil of Harpignies; M. Couturaud (another pupil of Harpignies) has an exceptionally good winter landscape; MM. Quignon and Palézieux are both fine in their different styles. Among sea pictures there is a kind of pathos in M. Broquet's La Trêve, a wrecked coaster in shoal water, gently rocked by the sunlit morning sea where the storm had wrecked her overnight. And if you want to see storm on canvas, look at M. Lefort-Magniez' Surpris par la Marée, with its waste of white water and rack of ragged driving clouds; no exaggerated scenic effect here; it is Nature in one of her wildest aspects, painted with a power and truth that could hardly be

surpassed.

There is not very much of interest in the New Salon; there is much that is preposterous. There is a good deal of beauty in M. Osbert's immense allegorical picture, Le retour du jour, in the staircase hall; more than in M. Aman-Jean's decorative picture, Les Eléments, for the new Sorbonne, which is attractive neither in colour nor composition. M. Aman-Jean has a great following at present; he has certainly made his own style, and, generally speaking, colour is his strong point; but there is a kind of worsted-work texture in his painting which does very well for draperies, but gives a very unhappy appearance to the faces in his figures. M. Dagnan-Bouveret's Marguerite au Sabat is not very successful. M. Caro-Delville, in Les présents de la Terre, one of three decorative paintings for a house at Buenos Aires, has painted a very fine nude figure; few painters of the day can surpass him there. M. Béraud, in Chemin de Croix, once more introduces the figure of Christ in the midst of a crowd of modern figures. It was worth doing once; and his first picture of the kind, a good many years ago-Christ seated among the members of a fashionable club, with a Parisian lady of the demi-monde playing the part of Mary Magdalen at His feet-was a powerful work with a telling point in it; but the frequent repetition of the idea is futile and in questionable taste. A picture which is amusing without any such intention is M. Courtois' Persée délivrant Andromède, where Perseus is obviously a bank manager who has forgotten to dress that morning; and one that is amusing of malice prepense is M. Guillaume's L'Avis de la famille, where a whole family, down to the little boy, bestow their opinions on the unfortunate painter of a picture of which we see the back: a bit of satire which many a painter will appreciate only too well.

The Digitized Levi Acya Samaj Foundation Chknodi and e Gangbriny exhibition; but the size of the Burlington House exhibition, at all events, compared with the vast art-whirlpool of the Salon, is about in the same proportion; and those who may take the trouble to read this article will probably see the Academy for themselves, while many of them will not see the Salon, and may be interested to know something of what is in it. Sculpture at the Royal Academy is by no means so important an element in the exhibition, proportionately, as it is at the Salon; for, as M. de L'Atelier did not scruple to say on his visit last year, our institution seemed to him to be an Academy of painting, with a little sculpture and architecture thrown in. Nevertheless, for some ten or fifteen years past the sculpture has generally been the strongest part of the Academy The manner in which English sculpture has advanced during the last twenty years or so, in spite of the poor encouragement which the art receives either from the Government or the public of this country, is enough to show how much sculptural talent there is among us, if only it could find scope and encouragement for its development. True, we have had sad losses; Harry Bates, a true genius, was cut off at an early age; and Onslow Ford has gone; and of another sculptor of genius, Mr. Gilbert, we hear no more now. But there are still sculptors among us; and the annual exhibition of the work of the Academy students, where sculpture nearly always makes the best appearance, indicates that there are others to come forward when they can get This year the sculpture is less satisfactory than usual, but in a sense which is not exactly the fault of the sculptors. There are too many portrait figures in costume, which are not the kind of thing that sculpture is really meant for; but these are commissions, and cannot be refused. Where the costume is of a broad and simple kind something sculpturesque can be made of it, as Mr. Drury shows in his statue of Elizabeth Fry, and Sir George Frampton in his group entitled Protection, part of a memorial to Dr. Barnardo. It is the portrait statues of men in modern costume that are the difficulty, and there are too many of them this year. Even Mr. MacKennal's Gainsborough statue, where there is at least a better costume to the sculptor's hand than the modern coat and trousers, is not a satisfactory employment of sculpture; and in France Gainsborough would probably have been commemorated by a portrait bust on a stele, with a figure symbolical of his art grouped with it, whereby the whole difficulty of the costume is got rid of. But if the superiority of this method is suggested to English sculptors, they will reply (as one of them did in fact in my hearing) that they would be only too happy to adopt it, but that the English public will not have it; they will have the whole figure, realistic costume and all. Clearly, therefore, if English sculpture is to email and english opportunities, the public must first be taught to take more interest in sculpture, and to understand better what it means; and that is

a long business.

Among the works which are really sculpturesque in style and subject, and aim at conveying a meaning beyond mere modelling, is Mr. Garbe's group of The Magdalenes, one standing, draped, looking down on her nude sister at her feet. What the artist exactly intended by this is not quite obvious, but there is a pathos about it which is to be felt nevertheless. Mr. Lucchesi's bronze group, The Two Voices, is also a work expressing an idea; and Mr. Gilbert Bayes' Fountain of the Valkyrs, with the Valkyrs on horses careering round it in a rather Donatello-like relief, is an exceedingly clever and effective piece of decorative work on a small scale; probably intended as a model to be carried out on a larger scale. If Mr. Bayes were in France he would probably get a State commission to carry this out for some public place; but, alas! what chance is there of that in a country where money spent on art is officially considered to be a sinful waste of public funds? In the Lecture Room we find in Mr. Colton's The River unto the Sea a small but fine marble group of poetic significance; and Mr. Babb's life-size Love and the Vestal next to it is also a work expressing an idea, and very spirited in conception and execution; but it would require to be placed in a niche or on the front of a building, as there is nothing in the back view but the broad surface of the Vestal's cloak. Sculpture that is to stand in the open must be capable of being looked at all round. Reynolds-Stephens exhibits his talent for decorative work, in which figure and pedestal have an almost equal share in the design, in his bronze statuette portrait of a lady seated on an admirably designed pedestal in marble and various metals; the effect is a little disturbed by the very large and conspicuous pattern on the dress of the figure, which seems rather out of scale with the other This form of decorative work in various materials has not been much illustrated in English sculpture (though Onslow Ford did something with it), and after the great success which he made with his Philip and Elizabeth, Mr. Reynolds-Stephens is wise in developing this as his own special province. Trent's sketch model for a memorial to the late King, to be erected at Brighton, looks very well as a whole; this, besides some other works on a small scale, is exhibited in one of the picture galleries. But the Academy ought to do much more for sculpture than merely dotting about some small works in the picture galleries; sculpture wants another room, and ought to have one. If the large gallery were devoted to sculpture it would be no more than is

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just to Diditized by Anya Samai Foundation Schaneal Angle Gangatriect the popular idea that 'art' means 'pictures.'

A first general look through the picture galleries left the impression that one had been seeing a considerable number of highly finished paintings; many of them charming, no one of them great. But the proportion of pictures which are crude, commonplace, and uninteresting is certainly smaller at the Academy than at the Salon; of course the actual number of pictures is much less. On the other hand, one can find nothing so powerful as the best work at the Salon, more especially in two classes of work-nude figures and landscape. Nude figures, in fact, seem almost entirely at a discount; English popular prejudice, perhaps, for one thing, is against them; and, when they are there, they are generally rather feeble productions. Mr. Tuke's male figures excepted. great deal of English landscape-painting is beautiful in its way, Mr. Davis's pictures, for instance; but they look weak beside the Salon landscapes; and in some cases, too, there seems so little attempt at composition in English landscape; a remark which does not refer to Mr. Davis's pictures, still less to those of Sir Alfred East, whose landscapes have always a unity of conception, a look of building up, about them; indeed, in A Tranquil River he has perhaps too much sacrificed local colour to unity of effect; Under the Wold is his strongest work this year. Mr. Arnesby Brown's A Norfolk Landscape is a vigorous work, especially in the treatment of the cattle in the foreground, but the distance is surely a little confused in effect. Mr. Gwelo Goodman strikes rather a new note in The Walls of England; the effect may be somewhat loaded and heavy, but it is the work of a painter who means something in his landscape, and is not merely painting a scene. Of course, in sea-painting, as long as we have Mr. Hemy with us, we may face the world; but the French, who used to be nowhere in sea-painting, are beginning to find out something about it, and may be formidable rivals before long.

Pictures which mainly deal with human life and character are not very strong this year. Abbey's Education of Isabella the Catholic (unfinished) offers a rather striking contrast between the face and manner of the young girl, evidently full of delight in life, and the ascetic figures who accompany her; that is the point of the picture, and it is forcibly illustrated. Sir L. Alma-Tadema has moved from his usual place in Gallery III. to Gallery I., where he confronts us with Preparations: in the Coliseum; the Imperial box being furnished with flowers and refreshments; the figure is of little interest, the whole picture consists in the marble and silver details, the mosaic-laid floor of the box-lobby, and the numbered seats for the populace rising in the background;

but what is the construction as after tool uster de separating the seats from the arena? It is rather puzzling, as it has always been said that the top member of the railing was a wooden round bar turning on a centre, lest peradventure some lion or tiger should get a clutch on the top rail. Of other contents of this room, Mr. Henry's sketch of a picnic in a forest is a fine piece of colour, and Mr. Hacker may be congratulated on his Imprisoned Spring, where the sunlight pours into the room which the cottage girl cannot leave. Mr. Sims's The Shower is too absurd; it may be maintained that the object of a picture is to be a decorative scheme and not to represent an incident; but we do want some kind of meaning and coherence in it. The large pictures of the year are very doubtful; Mr. Gow's scene in the House of Commons, 2nd of March, 1628, does not impress one as real; Mrs. Knight's The Flower is exceedingly clever, but who wants a picture of that size with absolutely no subject in it? Four figures against the sky doing nothing; though no doubt, like the House of Lords, 'doing it very well.' Mr. Wetherbee is charming in his Butterflies, a landscape with three figures in consentaneous movement down the ridge of the ground, in chase of the butterflies; that is not a subject picture, it is a painter's vision of a moment of delight, but its point is quite clear, and it is not, like Mrs. Knight's picture, too large for the subject. pictures in the Academy that make one wonder whether some painters ever think at all of what they are painting. Here is Mr. Waterhouse, who gives us Penelope and the Suitors; Penelope, a pretty, middle-class woman of five-and-twenty. Penelope was a middle-aged Princess with a grown-up son; the picture, under If Mr. Beadle had been such a title, is absolutely ridiculous. present when the 'forlorn hope' rushed up to the breach of St. Sebastian, he would have found them something different in action and expression from this group of stage soldiers; and here is another gentleman who paints a picture of Hunting in the Midlands, from which one would gather that the practice in the Midlands is to ride over the hounds. I should like to hear the M.F.H. on that picture.

The strong point of the Academy exhibition is really the portraits. We have no M. Humbert, but Mr. J. J. Shannon is not much behind him, and two or three of his portraits of ladies here might vie with most of the French portraits, in regard to style and colour. Mr. Orpen's portrait of a gentleman, in the second room, is exceedingly successful in making the head stand out light without the banality of a dark background; his portrait group in the third room is a very good example of his old method of portraiture, treating the sitter as a figure in the centre of a room which forms part of the subject of the picture. I prefer the portrait simply

as such Pigitized by Aryp Semail Foundation Phennal and Gangoth interesting variation of method.

In short, we are saved by our portraits this year, in what would otherwise be a very weak exhibition. There is plenty of room for a new genius who would treat great subjects in a great manner. But we want the great subject as well as the great manner. The misfortune is that some people who can paint in something like a great style waste their talents on trivial subjects. Subject counts for something after all.

H. HEATHCOTE STATHAM.

## THE SENUSSI AND THE MILITARY ISSUE IN TRIPOLI

EVENTS in North Africa have entered a phase the significance of which is not completely recognised. Although the last vestige of direct Ottoman rule is in process of effacement, there remains the foyer of Islam, which has been deeply stirred by recent European aggression. In so far as its power may be expressed by concerted military action, there are two opinions: first, that military resistance alone is involved and must speedily succumb to the forces of Italy; second, that the most fanatical element in modern Islamism, the Senussi confraternity, will determine the issue of the war in Tripolitania. Since I was responsible for introducing to the English public in 1899 the full significance and even the existence of the Senussi movement, I venture now to express my views on the political situation, which reacts intimately on the British Occupation in Egypt.

Our position in Egypt, in view of this war, is most delicate, particularly on the frontier of Tripoli (to revert to the popular rendering of Tripolitania). The 'ancient boundaries of Egypt,' as set forth in the firmans of the Suzerain, never have been accurately defined; but in regard to Egypt Proper these have not been the subject of dispute, if we exclude the protest of the Porte in 1899, based on the extravagant claims in Said Pasha's despatch of 1890. In the West, the Libyan Desert is a no-man's land, in which frontiers are lost in a sea of sand, although nominally the Libyan Desert falls within the Anglo-Egyptian sphere of influence, as recognised by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1899. The frontier between Egypt and Tripoli, on all maps published prior to the issue of my book From Sphinx to Oracle and on most maps since, is shown to include Jerabub, the sanctuary and fortress of the Senussi (or, more correctly, Senussia); and, doubtless, that was the ancient boundary of Egypt. But it is not the frontier recognised by the Egyptian Government, nor the frontier that would be acceptable to the Senussi, who, in the militant days of the late Senussi el-Mahdi (uncle of the present head of the sect),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Sphinz to Oracle: Through the Libyan Desert to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. (Hurst and Blackett.)

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri, exercised an influence and a power transcending and technically infringing the sovereign rights of Turkey. As a result of my visit to the oasis of Siwa (the ancient Jupiter Ammon) in 1898, I was able to define the frontier which is tacitly recognised by the Egyptian Government and the local Senussi sheikhs, respectively. Starting from a point located at half-a-day's journey, or ten miles, to the west of Siwa town, the frontier extends northwards (roughly speaking, along the twenty-fifth meridian) to the Gulf of Solum, leaving the port of Jerjub in Egyptian territory and Jerabub in the vilayet of Tripoli. The caravan-road from Siwa to Jerjub, which Siwans (Siwaîa) regard as their natural port, would necessarily remain in Egyptian territory; but Jerabub—the Mecca of the Senussi-would lie outside the sphere of influence of Egypt, whose authority, for 200 miles to the west of the Nile Delta, was represented, until quite recently,2 chiefly by the Coast Guard service, the oasis of Siwa being attached to the mudiria of Damanhur.

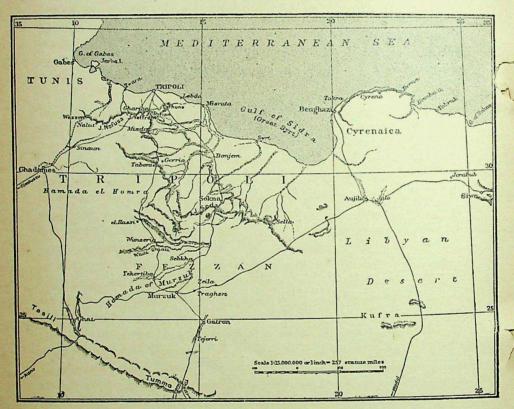
These dry details are an essential premiss to my argument. It is important to realise, at the outset, that, south of the oasis of Siwa, one enters the heart of the Libyan Desert, which renders almost impregnable the cases of Kufra, from whence, at the present day, the temporal power of the Senussi is said to be exercised. This region of the Sahara, in which desert conditions are more pronounced than in any other part of the world, although left, in principle, within the Anglo-Egyptian sphere of influence, has no natural boundaries. But, although its physical limits are undefined, its conventional boundaries are politically recognised. Tripoli and Cyrenaica in the north, Fezzan in the west, the ancient boundary (Firman, 1841) in the east, the highlands between Tibesti and Ennedi, and the open desert in the south—these may be said to delimit the Libyan Desert on all sides, from the political point of view. The principal Senussi settlements in the borderlands of the Libyan Desert (apart from Kufra and Cyrenaica) are Aujila (where the Mojabra slave-traders of Jalo are their copartners), Fezzan, Tibesti, Borku, Wanyanga, and Ennedi. Their domination over Kanem and Wadai was overthrown by France, and after the fall of Abeshr the heads of the confraternity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Turkey, by agreement with the Egyptian Government, has withdrawn ('provisionally') her small garrison from the fort at Solum, which was occupied last December by 50 men of the Egyptian army under a British officer. In regard to this action, an official statement was made by our Foreign Office, in which the following passage occurs: 'The Turkish Government was informed as long ago as November 1904 that the line of the Egyptian western frontier ran up to and included Solum, and this was also communicated to the Italian Government. The present movement of Egyptian troops is merely due to the decision which has been come to recently by the Egyptian authorities to establish a frontier post at Solum within their own boundary.'

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri removed to Borku and Kufra—perhaps the least accessible regions of Africa. There is now an unconfirmed report of their return to Jerabub.

Any European Power attempting to occupy Tripoli (I stated in 1899, in *The Expansion of Egypt*, p. 396)

would inevitably find itself in opposition to the Senussi, whose base of communications is now established at Benghazi. Should any attempt be made to cut off their supplies of arms and ammunition, which freely enter at this port, under the averted eyes of Turkish officials, such an attempt would be in itself sufficient to rouse the Senussi to revolt, the consequences of which would injuriously affect every State holding territory in North Africa.



SKETCH-MAP OF TRIPOLI.3

And I went on to say:

It would be in the highest degree unwise, on the part of Italy or of France, to take any steps to change the status quo in Tripoli, which, anomalous as it may be, is fraught with serious issues to Egypt. The settlement of Tripoli involves the solution of the Senussi Question, which at present is dormant, though big with fate.

To that opinion I adhere, and for the reasons to be set forth. For, although since these words were written the power

3 By kind permission of the Royal Geographical Society.

Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Chennai and eGangotri of the Senussi has been broken up to some extent by the French in Wadai and Kanem, it has been enhanced to an even greater extent by their present co-operation (of which there is no longer any doubt) with the Ottoman Government—an alliance which would have been impossible in the lifetime of the late Mahdi, and which none could have foretold who believed in the unchanging intolerance of 'the way of the Senussi.' To what may this adjustment of policy be ascribed?

In the main, it may be ascribed to the logic of events. policy of the Senussi is essentially pacific and self-accommodating: so long as it was controlled by the modus vivendi with the Ottoman administration of Tripoli, points of divergence were readily adjustable. Senussi el-Mahdi recognised the temporal authority of the Sultan of Turkey because the principles and politics of the Senussi were respected by him; the Senussi representative at Constantinople was among the most trusted advisers of the ex-Sultan. The Senussi claim that they are neither reformers nor innovators: they wish to expunge all idea of revolution from their doctrine. They profess to preach the 'primitive contract,' or original teaching, of the Korán, free from all heresies but developed by the various mystic orders of the orthodox rites. They therefore revert to the Korán as first expounded, and recognise the authority of the Sonna (or collection of traditional sayings of the Prophet), affirming the necessity of the Imamat (pan-Islamic theocracy) and the excellence of a contemplative and devout life. But in practice, as in theory, their doctrine-reinforced by their policy of conquest by colonisation-inclines to accommodate itself to circumstances. Now it is, what we would call, Lutheran; now Puritan; and again, particularly in its political propaganda, wholly Jesuitical. Its most vital characteristic is, however, its capacity for assimilation. Thus, the Senussi claim the support of no fewer than forty (or, as some authorities would hold, sixty-four) groups-religious orders, or branches of these-more or less allied to the Shadli school of philosophy, which embraces the majority of the Moslem orders. Amalgamation is undoubtedly aimed at, and is, in truth, progressing rapidly: because wherever the Senussi settle, there they eventually rule. That is the cardinal fact and political significance of the Senussi. Latitudinarianism constitutes the greatest cohesive force in their propaganda.

The 'way of the Senussi' embodies a triple protest: (i) against concessions made to Western civilisation, (ii) against innovations—the result of what we would call progress—in Eastern countries, and (iii) against all fresh attempts made to extend Western or European influence in countries still preserved by 'the divine grace.' All good Moslems are enjoined to expatriate Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri themselves from countries under Christian domination: that is

their fighting creed.

Convents (zawia) of the Senussi are found throughout the length and breadth of North Africa, in Somaliland, Arabia, and in Mesopotamia. The most active centre is in the peninsula of Barka (the tableland of Cyrenaica), where the Senussi administer their own code of justice, cheek by jowl with the Turkish officials. At Tobruk—the finest harbour and most secure port in North Africa except Bizerta, although the Italians appear to favour Derna-they imported, unhindered, arms and munitions of war, which were landed by ships specially engaged in this contraband traffic; at Benghazi, too, they had a free hand, under the Ottoman régime. In short, the Senussi possessed, and still occupy, in the most fertile and valuable district of Tripoli, a pied-à-terre of vital importance to their integrity and of essential value to the economical development of the vilayet. Any European Power taking possession of Tripolitania must come therefore into conflict with the Senussi-a conflict of interest, if not of actual resistance.

Minor settlements are found in Morocco; in Algeria, which is honeycombed with Senussi intriguers; in Tunis, where they maintain a precarious foothold; throughout Tripoli; in all the oases to the south of these regions up to Tuat and Ghat; in the highlands of the Sahara, and in many parts of the Central Sudan States. In Egypt there are some insignificant settlements apart from the Zawîa at Siwa,<sup>4</sup> which was founded in 1843; there are probably, including Siwa, about 4,000 adherents in the country: in the Fayum, at Dakla, and along the Mediterranean littoral. Though successive Khedives have shown them favour, the Senussi never have had any hold on the Nile Valley, except in Darfur. They have, however, opened up new direct routes: from Kufra

<sup>4</sup> Owing to its remote geographical position and desert surroundings, Siwa, though falling within the sphere of Egypt's political action, enjoys a large measure of self-government, under recognised Sheikhs. The Berber population, which is intermixed with Negro and other racial elements from the Central Sudan States, maintains the ancient blood-feud between the Rharbyin and Sherkyin (Easterns and Westerns), the indigenous grouping of the tribes. These rival factions and the propaganda of the Senussia compose a situation difficult to regulate, and, with the small police force at the disposal of the Egyptian Governor (Mamur), physically impossible to control. Thus, in October 1909 the Egyptian Government despatched a punitive expedition against Siwa. The expedition was under Colonel Azmi Bey (Mamur of Siwa, when I was there), and consisted of forty police soldiers, accompanied by two mountain guns and six artillery-men of the Egyptian army. Thirty-one persons were tried before the Siwa tribunal for being concerned in the murder of a Government agent (Mitwalli Effendi, the Mamur) and three policemen, who had taken proper action in connection with alleged dealings in slaves and arms by the local agent (wekil) of the Senussi. Osman Habbun-my bête noire-subsequently was hanged, together with his accomplices. Underlying that incident, however, was the significant and salient fact that Habbun had prevented Mitwalli from crossing the frontier into Tripoli, in his capacity as wekil of the Senussi.

1912 THE SENUSSI AND THE WAR IN THITODLE.

to Jera Pigitized by Arva Same of Condation Chandeland a Cangoli wa, and from Kufra to Khargeh, the Egyptian oasis. Kufra comprises a group of at least five oases, with sand dunes intervening, and covers an extensive area of desert, in which vegetation exists almost everywhere.

It will thus be seen that, so far as Egypt is concerned, the storm-centre lies in the oasis which contains Jerabub and Siwa. The site of Jerabub was well chosen. Situated 160 miles southward of Tobruk, and less than 100 miles from Siwa, on the road to Benghazi (at least 300 miles distant) and to Jalo (about 200 miles away), it occupies a strategic position near the great caravan-route of North Africa. It is both sufficiently remote and conveniently accessible to safeguard and to serve the objects of its foundation as a sanctuary and a fortress. Walled in on three sides by high mountains, about eight miles distant, Jerabub is built on a nucleus of rock, somewhat higher than the surrounding hamáda (stony desert), on the southern slope and among the catacombs of the valley. It resembles all desert towns and villages in its character as a citadel, but differs from these by being built almost entirely of stone. A single road, and a very narrow one, leads past it, or through it, conducting to Siwa on the one hand, and to Benghazi on the other. A caravan, approaching or passing Jerabub, dare not leave this road, because, on either side, there lie biáma-desert-lands so impregnated with salt, that men and animals would be engulfed, should they stray (as once I strayed, but turned back in time) from the direct path and attempt to traverse such treacherous ground.

Jerabub is little more than a university town, in which the youthful Senussi receive their training, though it may serve also as an arsenal and fortress. Its importance as the Mecca of the Senussi confraternity is its chief significance for us. Under a fine cupola in the mosque, the remains of the founder of the sect, Sidi Mohamed ben Ali es-Senussi, are interred. The mausoleum bears the following epitaph:

This refuge is a flowered garden watered by Divine Grace, and has become renowned by the presence of a descendant of the Prophet. The glory of the countenance of the Mahdi enmeshes it as with a rampart of light. He inaugurated its foundation with these words: The sun of happiness projects its rays only through Ali Senussi.<sup>5</sup>

This great and good man, scholar and saint, was succeeded, in or about 1859, by his son Sidi Mohamed el-Senussi, surnamed 'the moon,' on account of his beauty and popularity. Although he, himself, did not claim the title, his followers called him the Mahdi, in accordance with the prophecy of his father. Born near

<sup>5</sup> M. Labatut : Bulletin, Soc. de Géog. d'Alger, I, 1911.

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Derna in 1844, lightway Ava Kamai Foundation Chernal and Searcest of his high office; and throughout his rule he evinced greater intolerance, more fanatical zeal, than his parent, who was bold only in words. He migrated to Kufra in 1895, accompanied by his councillors and a large following. In 1900 the confraternity moved to Gouro, and in 1903 the Sheikh el-Senussi died in Borku-Tibesti.

His nephew and successor, Sidi Ahmed el-Sherif, is now about thirty-five years of age: the eldest son of Mohamed Sherif (the youngest son of the founder of the sect), who died at Jerabub in 1896. Of him little or nothing is known; but it is certain that he sent a mission to Constantinople, received from the Sultan a sword of honour and a jewelled order, and is now actively cooperating with the Turkish forces in Tripoli.

The special correspondent of *The Times* lately in Nigeria contributed last September an article on 'Islam in Africa,' from

which the following quotation is taken:

A few years ago Italian ambitions in Tripoli might, perhaps, have been achieved without very much difficulty-whether morally justifiable or not-but their active expression now occurs at a time when two circumstances have entirely altered the situation. I refer to the recrudescence of political activity on the part of Turkey in Tripoli and its vast hinterland in the Central Sudan; and to the recognition by the Senussi of the spiritual authority of the Sultan, an event of the deepest significance. . . . In the spring of this year [i.e. 1911] Turkish troops moved southward and occupied, almost simultaneously, Bardai in Tibesti, and Ain-Galakka in Borku, the mountainous districts lying south of the Kufra oases, west of the Libyan desert, and immediately north of Wadai. And there they remain. [The Turks also installed, in 1910, a Resident at Kufra; and subsequently appointed, as Governor of Jerabub, Sidi Radha, first cousin of the Sheikh el-Senussi. The Cairo correspondent of The Times states that the Ottoman Government granted Sidi Radha the rank of Sania, and he was decorated with the third-class of the Osmanieh; whilst the Turkish flag, to the hoisting of which el-Senussi gave his consent, since confirmed, By its action the was brought from Constantinople by special envoy.] Turkish Government would seem to have definitely intimated to all concerned that Turkey does not propose to remain a purely negative factor in the affairs of the Central Sudan. . . . The Turkish position in these regions has, of course, been immensely strengthened by the unrest which permeats the whole of the Islamic world of North Africa, of the Central, and perhaps to some extent the Eastern and Western, Sudan, by the occurrences in Marocco, the fighting in Wadai, and the occupation of 'Mauritania' by the French. To the fears which these incidents have generated, and, incidentally, to the anger at the decay in the transdesert caravan trade from the Nigerian region with the north which has so impoverished Fezzan, must undoubtedly be ascribed the steps taken by the Senussis to come to a political understanding with Constantinople. This understanding is to-day an accomplished fact, and has been sealed by the despatch of a Senussi mission to Constantinople. Its existence must make of the Ottoman flag a symbol and a rallying-point for the whole mass

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M. Labatut (op. cit.) refers to the Senussi as Sidi Mohamed el-Abed. believe he is mistaken in the name of the Grand Master.

of displicted by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotti of displicted Moslem elements in a vast region of North and Central Africa. . . . Although Senussi-ism is essentially a religious and spiritual force, preaching avoidance of the European rather than active hostility against him, the aggression of a European Power upon that region of Africa, where its adepts are most numerous and most powerful, could not fail to light a torch which might well set all North Africa and many parts of the Sudan ablaze.

The length of this quotation may be excused on account of its important bearing on my subject and its corroboration of views expressed by me after coming into personal contact with the Senussi at Siwa, where I was turned back in an attempt to reach Jerabub. It emphasises the true reason why the pacific policy of the Senussi has been converted into hostility against the activities and aggression of Europe in Africa.

The Senussi are fighting now under the Turkish flag for their very existence, for their faith, and for their country; and Italy must be well aware of the fact: it may be, even, that she shirks the issue and turns abroad for adventure. Whether their power be great or not (and I admit it seems to have been exaggerated in the past), it is at least the most vital element in the Turkish resistance against the invasion of Tripoli, and constitutes the most potent factor in the pacification of Tripolitania. Further south the prospect is no brighter. 'The Central Sudan,' says Dr. Carl Kumm, 'is at present [1910] in a state of religious solution, and should a fanatical rising take place there after the tribes have been won for the Crescent faith, such a rising may have very serious consequences. The German Government in Adamawa is directly and indirectly advancing and supporting the spread of Mohammedanism. . . . The British Government in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is also involuntarily advancing Mohammedanism among the pagans in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province. When Great Britain occupied that Province in 1899 the land was entirely pagan. To-day it is being permeated by the Crescent faith. The military in that province are recruited from the pagan tribes. As soon as the men enlist they have to swear their oath of allegiance to the Khedive of Egypt; they are circumcised and made Mohammedans.' (From Hausaland to Egypt, pp. 268-9.)

The Sultan's suzerainty over Egypt always has been loyally recognised by the Protectoral Power—in principle, if not in fact. In principle, the Sultan might call upon Egypt <sup>7</sup> to send troops to his aid; but, in practice, this act of fealty would be embar-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The principle of Egyptian autonomy was laid down in the Separate Act annexed to the Treaty of London of the 15th of July 1840. Art. VI. of this Act (the stipulations of which the Great Powers and the Porte bound themselves to observe) provides that the military and naval forces of Egypt 'shall always be considered as maintained for the service of the State '-i.e. Ottoman Empire.

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rassing, more particularly in present circumstance and econgoly, the Sultan's suzerainty is a diplomatic fiction, substantiated merely by the fact of his receiving the annual tribute, which, virtually speaking, is now an indemnity, and by the continuance of the Capitulations, which are limitations to his sovereignty. obligations of Egypt, under the Protectoral Power, are confined, therefore: (i.) to maintaining the integrity and neutrality of Egypt Proper; and (ii.), since the Tutelary Power is responsible for the territorial integrity of Egypt, as well as being the executive Signatory of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888, to police the Canal in accordance with International Law. There is, however, another aspect of the situation, which profoundly affects our status in the Mediterranean: the occupation of Morocco by France and the occupation of Tripolitania by Italy involve the permanent occupation of Egypt by Great Britain. That is the logical and inevitable sequence of events: we can never evacuate Egypt. That, too, is the reason why we must take more than an academic interest in the settlement of Tripoli and of the Senussi question, which are inseparably associated.

The invasion of Tripoli by an Italian expeditionary force, and the occupation of its seaports, is merely the initial stage in a campaign which, necessarily, must be directed to the conquest of Cyrenaica—the stronghold of the Senussi—before any active steps can be taken to pacify the tribes of the hinterland, or innerlands. It took France thirty years to pacify and effectively control the turbulent tribes in the hinterland of Algeria; sand the task which confronts Italy, in her present equivocal position, is no less formidable, owing to the desert character of the theatre of war, which is more inimical than hostile tribes. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the entire country is a desert, dotted here and there with oases; it is also a rainless region, up to within a few miles of the coastal zone. Except for the latter, too,

<sup>8</sup> The analogy is strikingly suggestive. The Arabs and Kabyles, though hereditary enemies, joined in their opposition against the European intruder: for the nonce they were united by the bond of a common religion. A Holy War was preached; a Mahdi, Abd-el-Kader (whose son is now serving at the front with the Turkish troops in Tripoli), appeared; a host of marabouts and other fanatics fanned the flames of the conflagration. It took three campaigns (1854, 1856, 1857) to subdue the hardy mountaineers of the Jujura : Kabylia was conquered for the first time in history. The French conquest of Algeria may be divided into four periods: (i.) the occupation of the Mediterranean ports (1830-1833); (ii.) the conquest of the Arab country, except that to the west (between Oran and Algiers) ceded to Abd-el-Kader (1835-1837); (iii.) the submission of Abd-el-Kader and of the Kabyle tribes of the Sahara (1847-1870); and (iv.) the establishment of French posts in the Sahara and the expansion of political influence southwards (1870-1894). Had France first conquered Tunis, the submission of Algeria would have been achieved more rapidly; but she had no such choice. For 'Tunis' read 'Cyrenaica,' in the task before Italy.

it is all but unexplored and unknown. Away from the seaports, wild nomads inhabit it. It is a stricken land.

The natural divisions of the country are Tripoli Proper (the coastal zone, from Tunis to the Gulf of Sidra), the limestone plateau of Cyrenaica, with gentle slopes towards the Aujila-Siwa depression in the south, and Fezzan (the southern province of Tripoli). A low-lying, rocky, and sandy coast, there are but few natural harbours. The Port of Tripoli, exposed to gales from the north-east, is unapproachable in stormy weather; Benghazi and Derna are not much safer; Bomba and Tobruk alone are secure and good natural harbours. Vegetation along the coast is confined to a very narrow strip of fertile land, where the rainfall is adequate; but in Cyrenaica conditions are more favourable. The cultivated area round Tripoli town, the Meshia, extends for about three miles inland; the remainder is invaded by sand dunes, between which are plots of cultivated land and camel-pastures. Wadis, sloping from south to north, intersect the plain and carry off the rainfall from the mountains to the sea in the winter (November to February). These mountains, situated at from forty to eighty miles from the coast, present steep ascents on their northern face, and slope gently towards the south. Gharian—one of the objective points of the Italian Expedition—is a mountainous region (in which the highest summit in the country, Jebel Tekut, reaches 2800 feet), supporting the best cultivated lands, with fig and olive trees, vines, and corn. The country southwards becomes more and more desolate and arid up to the vast rocky plateau of Hamada el-Homra. South of the hamada, the oases of Fezzan are first encountered. Perhaps we need go no further. Ample particulars, of which some are given here, are provided in an instructive article by Dr. Adolf Vischer in The Geographical Journal for November 1911.9

Professor J. W. Gregory, who visited Cyrenaica in 1908, says of this country: 'A section north and south across Cyrene shows that the country consists of three main levels; on the north is a low, narrow coastal plain, which ends inland at the foot of a steep cliff. The cliff is the front of a platform, the surface of which rises from 1000 feet above sea-level at its northern edge to 1300 feet further inland. This sloping platform extends inland for a width of five miles. Then follows another steep ascent to the height of Cyrene, of 1900 feet, and behind this cliff lies a wide undulating plateau, which gradually rises inland to over 2500 feet.' <sup>10</sup> Of the inhabitants, Dr. Adolf Vischer says:

10 'Report on the Work of the Commission sent out by the Jewish Territorial Organisation,' &c. London, 1909.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> I am indebted to the Royal Geographical Society for the use of the sketchmap accompanying this article.

'Most probably the number does not surpass 150,000; Benghazi, the capital, having about 12,000, and Derna half that number. They include both Berbers and Arabs. The products of the soil are barley, wheat, and maize, but more important are the products of cattle-rearing. There is little doubt,' he continues, 'that it forms the most valuable portion of the vilayet, and that which offers most advantages for permanent settlement.' He does not, however, refer to the large number of camels which the Senussi are said to possess in Cyrenaica, apart from their other resources for military action.

The sedentary Berbers who inhabit the Coast towns and the Jebel in Tripoli Proper number, according to Dr. Adolf Vischer, not more than 300,000. The nomad Arabs are more difficult to estimate, but can hardly exceed 50,000. A large number of Jews—about 11,000—live in the town of Tripoli and in Gharian; and there are (or, rather, were) some 4000 Maltese included in

the 50,000 population of the capital.

The trans-Saharan trade, of which, in the past, Tripoli was the entrepôt and terminus, is moribund. The camel-caravans that crossed the Sahara traded in slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins, metals, spices, gums, rock-salt, etc., which were exchanged for the manufactures of Europe. Fezzan was an important trade centre; Ghadames and other oases were also objective points for caravans. But with the settlement of Africa and the development of its resources, other and more practical routes from the Central Sudan to the nearest available ports have been opened up, more particularly by the natural highway of the Niger Basin. The great trans-Saharan slave-trade, though not extinct, no longer pays-and never did pay, apart from the trade in ivory, which gave rise to it. But the Senussi are active slavers, and people their oases with captured slaves; those for export were (before the war) taken to Benghazi, and some were smuggled through to the Mediterranean littoral. I, myself, saw and photographed a large number of slaves at Siwa, where they were being fattened up for the European market after their exhausting journey across the desert. Apart from the pilgrim traffic to Mecca, the caravan trade of the Sahara will soon be an affair of the past, so far as commerce is concerned.

The commercial resources of Tripoli Italiana are very meagre; and these are exclusively agricultural—esparto grass, fruits, and vegetables—but the Italians may possibly extend viticulture. Professor J. W. Gregory found no evidence of mineral wealth either in Tripoli or in Cyrenaica; and, in order to develop the agricultural resources of the country, an enormous outlay of capital must be sunk in irrigation works. As a colony of exploitation, Tripoli is all but worthless to a European Power;

whilst its administration will be very costly, far in excess of its returns. There must be, then, other reasons why Italy has staked her national honour on the conquest of Tripolitania. What are the consequences?

The balance of power in the Mediterranean may be affected profoundly through the invasion of Tripoli by an Italian expeditionary force; whilst the seizure of Turkish islands may open up questions of European interest. It shapes well for British policy in the Mediterranean, because, if there be any logic in the course of history, it must detach Italy eventually from her subservience to the interests of the Triple Alliance, which in the main are continental. Apart from the integrity of her eastern and western land frontiers-towards France and Austria-Hungary, respectively—the national interests of Italy, exposed to attack along an extensive seaboard, lie 'on the water': under the present system of European alliances, the tendency of events must trend more and more in the direction I have predicted, since both France and Great Britain willingly accept Italy as a neighbour in North Africa. In spite of our protestations of good faith and responsibility towards the Mohammedan world, we are disposed to regard benevolently the occupation of Tripoli by a Power with which we have many interests in commonnot the least being the maintenance of Pax Britannica in the Mediterranean, to which she virtually subscribes. Italy herself can make any use of Tripoli as a naval base is, however, another matter. Neither commercial nor naval considerations seem to hold out sufficient compensation for a campaign that must encroach seriously on the resources of Italy. But this campaign of sentiment, for the realisation of national aspirations, is not to be ascribed solely to State aggrandisement: it fulfils a destiny that perhaps arose in the policy of the Italian Republics (Venetian, Genoese, and Sicilian), which enjoyed a monopoly of the trade of Tripoli in the fifteenth century. In the modern partition of Africa, Italy always has been regarded as the residuary legatee of Turkish Tripoli. That circumstances forced her hand into a premature display of force is due to the accidents of Realpolitik, and, perhaps, in some measure to mistrust between the Allies. That the annexation of a country should precede its conquest is only one of the many Gilbertian incidents which characterised the opening scenes in the invasion of Tripoli. For good or ill, the Turkish vilayet of Tripoli is, and must remain, under the crown of Italy, whose national honour is pledged by the declaration of sovereignty. This rash step stands in the way of mediation or peaceful settlement: it is an impasse, more embarrassing to her friends than to her foe.

June

It is a strange spectacle: an army of occupation encamped on the seaboard, under the protection of the guns of a supporting fleet: an army, paralysed for the moment, in the absence of any definite objective save the seizure of strategic positions on its immediate front: an army forever on the alert, on the defensive, in expectation of sudden attack from the far-flung screen of desert, behind which the mobile enemy can deliver 'bolts from the blue': an army flanked by a fanatical foe—the Senussi of Cyrenaica—whose country is a natural citadel and the most fertile in the vilayet!

Is it not obvious that, before any advance into the desert can be made with safety, Cyrenaica must be reduced to submission, must be conquered and held? Why, we well may ask, is there talk of postponing the campaign of conquest until the autumn, on account of unfavourable climatic conditions, when the most obvious and urgent objective lies on the coast? Passive resistance will not impair the fighting power of nomad Arabs and hardy Turks inured to life in the desert; supplies may fail them-though they need relatively few-and reinforcements of arms and men may be cut off; but, of the two belligerents, Italy must be the greater sufferer through a policy of inaction. The moral of the Army-passive under constant strain, in the heats of summer-will be injuriously affected; and sickness may decimate the camps. Sea-borne supplies run up a big bill; and, meantime, the Italian Peninsula is depleted of an appreciable proportion of its military and naval powers of defence, whilst time is given to the enemy in Africa to prepare all sorts of unpleasant surprises, not excluding the possible proclamation of a Holy War against the infidel. Why this truce of God? Can diplomacy win what the arms of Italy cannot immediately exact? It may be so: but time is all on the side of the Turk, who is past-master in passive resistance and masterly inactivity. The evacuation of Tripoli would be a serious blow to the popularity of the Young Turk party; but if defeat in the field be their bach—their fate—they would bow to the decree of Providence. Moreover, European prestige in Africa loses by every day of delay in vigorous offensive action: word has gone forth that Italy is impotent in the accomplishment of her design, and reinforcements are flocking to the standard of Islam.

'The boundaries of Tripoli Italiana,' remarks a correspondent of The Times, writing from Tripoli on the 16th of March, 'have not been appreciably widened since the final clearing of the oasis; not a yard has been gained since the occupation of Gargaresh on the 20th of January.' Commenting on this lack of initiative, he says, further: 'The idea of Gharian as an immediate objective would seem to have been abandoned, and

the question now exercising the lay mind is whether any less ambitious operations will be undertaken before the sun makes desert campaigning unduly risky. In Italian interests it appears desirable that some offensive action should be taken, and it is difficult to understand the reasons for the policy of masterly inactivity, which has immobilised a large, keen, and efficient army for more than three months, and is reported to contemplate an indefinite prolongation of the preparatory period.'

No doubt the plan of campaign is influenced by that of the re-conquest of the Egyptian Sudan; of advance by railway construction, step by step, until the Italians find their Omdurman somewhere in the outlying desert. The line of advance-eventually, one presumes, towards Fezzan-is already indicated: the Tripoli-Gargaresh line, and the extension of the Ain-Zara line to Homs. The recent attack in force, by sea and land, on Zwara, though a strategic gain (Zwara being the base of the enemy's line of communication, west of Tripoli), was mere Kriegspiel; whilst naval operations, beyond the immediate objective in Tripoli, only exasperate Turkey and alienate neutrals. So that, when all is said, the only true objective likely to influence the broad issues of the war seems to be, as I have suggested, the occupation of the tableland of Cyrenaica, which is within striking distance of the Coast. It may be noted, too, that Cyrenaica is a sub-province of Tripolitania, under the direct administration of the authorities in Constantinople. In every respect, it is the key to the situation. It is the Turco-Arab base, the nodality of highest resistance. The best ports are there; the enemy is there, in his strongest position and perhaps greatest force; whilst not far off (160 miles south of Tobruk, the best naval base) is the foyer of the Senussi sect, Jerabub-the Omdurman, in my opinion, of this war. Fezzan can wait-for years, if necessary—but unless Italy can come to terms with the Senussi (which to me seems to be out of the question), the sooner she occupies Cyrenaica the better it will be for her cause.

Fighting the desert is like fighting a swarm of bees in flight: the enemy is too elusive, and the sun is in one's eyes. Cyrenaica is a beehive. One cannot advance into the desert, leaving an enemy-country on one's left flank.

ARTHUR SILVA WHITE.

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### HOME RULE AND FEDERALISM

Concessions on the part of the friends of the plan, that it has not a claim to absolute perfection, have afforded matter of no small triumph to its enemies. 'Why,' say they, 'should we adopt an imperfect thing? Why not amend it and make it perfect before it is irrevocably established?' This may be plausible enough, but it is only plausible.—Hamilton: The Federalist, No. lxxxv.

The true law-giver ought to have a heart full of sensibility. He ought to love and respect his kind, and to fear himself. It may be allowed to his temperament to catch his ultimate object with an instinctive glance; but his movements towards it ought to be deliberate. Political arrangement, as it is a work for social ends, is only to be wrought by social means. There mind must conspire with mind. Time is required to produce that union of minds which alone can produce all the good we aim at. . . . By a slow but wellsustained progress, the effect of each step is watched; the good or ill success of the first gives light to us in the second; and so, from light to light, we are conducted with safety through the whole series. We see that the parts of the system do not clash. The evils latent in the most promising contrivance are provided for as they arise. One advantage is as little as possible sacrificed to another. We compensate, we reconcile, we balance. We are enabled to unite into a consistent whole the various anomalies and contending principles that are found in the minds and affairs of men. From hence arises not an excellence in simplicity, but one far superior, an excellence in composition .- Burke: Reflections on the French Revolution.

THE Bill to amend the provision for the government of Ireland is a singular triumph of empiricism. It defies the frontal attacks of the theorist, for the simple reason that there is nothing theoretical about it. It is not 'Federalism,' it is not Dualism, still less is it to be compared with a colonial constitution of the usual type. That it is 'unsymmetrical,' as Mr. Balfour complains, may readily be conceded. That, perhaps, is not the least of its merits. There is no such thing as 'stock sizes' in constitutions except in the ingenious brain of a Sievès, and the political exigencies of no two countries in the world are exactly alike. critics who seem to contend that the Bill violates some law of nature as to the progress of society, and Mr. Balfour, in his most speculative mood, has laid down five propositions as to such progress, and finding the Bill fails to conform to each and all of them, can find nothing more to say for it. This political rationalism would have been in place in the eighteenth century, but in an age in which legal and economic history has taught us to beware of the a priori method, and to consider each case on its merits, it has a curious air of unreality. One might as well condemn the Bill out of Aristotle's Politics. It is the method of a schoolman, not of a statesman. To argue, for example, from the creation of a new State, such as that of the American Republic, to the readjustment of an old one like the United Kingdom, and to condemn the Home Rule Bill of 1912 because it fails to conform to the principles of the American Constitution of 1787 is, indeed, to exhibit a wonderful agility of mind, but it is not a sound application of the method of analogy. It is quite true that the Federal Constitution of 1787 was a step towards 'closer union'; it is conceivable—though not indisputable—that the Home Rule Bill is a step towards looser union. But the union between Ireland and Great Britain after the Home Rule Bill has been placed on the statute-book will still be closer than the bond which unites Massachusetts with the United States to-day. There is all the difference in the juristic world between the surrender of certain powers by a group of sovereign States like the American 'colonies' to a new Federal Government and the delegation of certain powers by a single sovereign State like the United Kingdom to a provincial Legislature.

The difference will be apparent to anyone versed in constitutional history or constitutional law. Until 1861 it was contended-not without considerable show of authority-that sovereignty in the American Republic remained with the States: but no one would seriously contend that under the Government of Ireland Bill sovereignty will be anywhere but where it is at present-viz. in the Imperial Parliament. Even to-day the Federal franchise in the United States is completely under the control of the individual States;1 under the Home Rule Bill the franchise for the Imperial Parliament will remain after the appointed day, as it was before it, governed by the laws of the Imperial Parliament. There will then, as now, be a common citizenship throughout the United Kingdom; but there is no Imperial citizenship in Germany, and in the United States the sphere of citizenship has not yet been wholly nationalised, despite the pious hopes of the men who framed the famous Fourteenth Amendment.2 Between the United Kingdom and the United States there is just this difference: that the former has a sovereign Government and the latter has not.

No one has any doubt where sovereignty resides in the United Kingdom, but the utmost perplexity exists among jurists as to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Cruikshank's Case. 92 U.S. Rep. p. 555. The Fourteenth Amendment has made but little difference.
<sup>2</sup> Cf. The Slaughter House Case. 16 Wall. 36.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri where it resides in a Federal system. It may reside in 'the people,' as Webster argued in the case of the United States, or in the group of State Governments as Laband argues in the case of Germany, though each theory has any number of dissentients in both countries; or it may be conceived of as residing in the Federal Constitution.3 But we have vet to find anyone who will contend that under Home Rule sovereignty will reside in the Irish Constitution, unless he is prepared to 'kick the Crown into the Boyne.' The Crown-its supremacy, its perpetuity, and its indivisibility-is a juristic fact which opposes a stubborn obstacle to those who try to treat Home Rule as a case of federation.4 Nor is the distinction mere pedantry. The veto of the Crown on Irish legislation—a veto for which there is no parallel in a Federal system such as that of the United States or Germany-is a fact which at once puts the Irish Parliament entirely out of the category of the State legislatures in a Federal system. Their large residuary powers can only be controlled by stretching the 'sovereignty' of the Federal Constitution to its utmost limits by judicial interpretation of it. On the other hand, the veto of the Crown has always been present to the minds of their lordships of the Privy Council as decisively distinguishing the subordinate Legislatures within the British Empire from all Federal analogues.<sup>5</sup> So long as that veto exists the Irish Legislature will never have the powers of a State Legislature of the United States. Or turn from this executive veto of the Crown to its legislative veto in the Imperial Parliament. Wherever an Irish statute conflicts with an Imperial statute, the rule of construction will be in favour of the latter. But wherever a Federal statute conflicts with the statute of a State in America, there is no such rule in universal operation: the Federal statute must be shown to come within the powers expressly surrendered by the States under the Constitution, or else it is null and void. Or, again, there is a third aspect of sovereignty—the supremacy of the common law in the United Kingdom, and of the Supreme Courts of Appeal. In a Federal system it is not always easy to determine

<sup>3 &#</sup>x27;The original Thirteen States made the Constitution, but it in turn made the other States'—Landon: The Constitutional History and Government of the United States—a statement of fact which furnishes a crushing commentary on Mr. Balfour's theory that every federal constitution has from the beginning been 'round and perfect and self-contained.'

Bacon, in his opinion in Calvin's Case (State Trials, Vol. II., p. 559, etc.), shows a perception, remarkable in those days of the infancy of political theory, of the juristic importance of this distinction. In monarchies, he points out, sovereignty is in the Crown, but in 'the busy and curious frames' of other commonwealths it subsists by 'a law precedent,' written or unwritten.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Bank of Toronto v. Lambe, 12 App., Cas. 575.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I should say England and Ireland. Scotch law is, of course, to be distinguished.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri whether there is common law for the whole nation. Is there in the United States? Doubtless the Supreme Court when it has to interpret the Federal Constitution and Federal statutes assumes an independent interpretation of the law, and interprets them by an unwritten law of its own. But supposing it has to decide in a suit by a citizen of one State against another State, it has to follow the interpretation based on the law by the highest court of that State. Now the Judicial Committee in the case of an action by an Englishman against the Government of Ireland-we will suppose a case of petition of right for breach of contract by an Irish department—will itself determine the principles by which it decides the case; it is not bound by the principles laid down by the Court of King's Bench in Dublin. Again, if a statute of an American State Legislature is challenged in the Supreme Court on the ground that it deprives a subject of his property 'without due process of law,' due process of law will be defined by reference to the law and constitution of that particular State. But if a subject of the Crown challenges an Irish statute on the ground that the Irish Government have, in acting under it, infringed his common law rights, the Judicial Committee in Whitehall will apply the rules of the common law of the United Kingdom in laying down that no common law rights can be taken away except by express statutory words. Nay, to go further, not only will the Imperial Court decide such cases as come before it by its own principles of interpretation, but its jurisdiction will itself be equally unrestrained. In the United States no appeal lies from the State courts on matters of State law; it is only when a question of infringement of Federal statutes or the Federal Constitution arises that an appeal will lie. Otherwise the State courts are supreme. The Irish courts are not supreme, and will never be-the ppellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords over all causes will be exercised in all its plenitude by the Judicial Committee.

It will be apparent, therefore, that from whatever aspect we regard the new Constitution—executive, legislative, judiciary—it is a flagrant abuse of terms to call it Federalism and to brand it, as some of its critics are inclined to do, with all the vices of the

Federal type and none of its virtues.

The argument that the tendency of all political unions is towards closer union is therefore seen, on closer examination of resolve itself into the question: 'What is meant by union?' sm. confederations tend to become federal is perfectly to These

There was a remarkable example of this in the case of Dorritely as States, 195 U.S., 138, when the Supreme Court, in deciding thught on jury did not extend to the Philippines, had, motu proprio, to extend of was a right fundamental in its nature. See the Harvard Leeventually 547.

federal unions do not tend to become unitary and ecangorites of America have never shown the slightest inclination to grant to Congress the supremacy which is possessed by the Imperial Parliament, and which will continue in its possession after the grant of Home Rule to Ireland. There is, indeed, a kind of ebb and flow in the current of 'Unionism' in the constitutional history of the United States; one generation of judges, represented by Marshall's famous decision in the McCulloch v. Maryland case, stretches the Constitution in the direction of closer Federalism, another generation represented by the decision in the Dred Scott cases relaxes it in the direction of State autonomy; a revolution, largely precipitated by the decision in the *Dred Scott* case, imposes restrictions on the State Legislatures by changing the text of the Constitution, and another generation of judges set themselves to work to modify those restrictions. Not movement but equilibrium is characteristic of the history of that great archetype of Federal Constitutions. The equipoise of the Constitution is, perhaps, never quite restored to its earlier position; it seems to describe through history not a circle but a parabola. Machiavelli may have been wrong in his theory that history repeats itself, and that mankind moves through the ages in great cycles; but, in looking at the rise and fall, the ebb and flow, the continual mutations, of political forms throughout history, one seems to see no universal law except the law of a Heraclitean flux. The appeal to history should be one of emancipation, not of servitude. History, as a great legal writer 10 reminds us, 'sets us free'; it teaches us when we may discard the ancient usage by showing us what was its original purpose and to what extent it has outlived it. To critics of Mr. Balfour's school Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht. But this is to exchange statesmanship for fatalism. And history shows that nothing is stationary. Were Alexander Hamilton alive to-day he would hardly recognise some parts of that Constitution of which he was the godfather.

Not content with his theory of a universal law of closer union, Mr. Balfour would fain have us believe that all political unions are from their very commencement 'round and perfect and self-contained,' 11 and that they are built up on an equality of parts.

tinguished.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. The Slaughter House Case, supra, and the liberalising use by the Universe Court of the 'police power.'
Mr. And cf. the recent decisions of the High Court of the Australian Common-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bacon Justice O. W. Holmes in the Harvard Law Review, xii. p. 452. shows a penimbleness of mind exhibited by this fluent generalisation is truly of the juz. It vaults over some five centuries of Swiss history, half a dozen sovereignty e diplomacy of the North and South Bünde in Germany, and 120 commonwealtheir can constitutional development. The decisions of the Supreme

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Bank eington in the 'Annexation Cases' in 1903 show that the <sup>6</sup> I should sa'he American Constitution is still to seek.

Now Rigitzedby Amagara Foundation Change and Gappathy Constitution that has stood the test of time. On the face of it, a policial organism which, like the lowest organism in biology, is cope of a perpetual repetition of rudimently parts must be it very backward stage of development. Differentiation is the law of all progress. It is quite true that the Constitution of the United States provides for the equal representation of the States in the Senate; it is also true that as regards the power of the Federal Legislature over each State there is uniformity—that is to say, the Federal Legislature cannot legislate for one State more than another. But in so far as this is used as an argument against granting Ireland greater legislative powers than Scotland or England it is singularly illusory.

No study of the American Constitution is complete unless we also take into consideration the constitutions of the individual States, and the moment we do this we shall find that the powers possessed by each State Legislature are anything but In theory each State has the same residuary powers -i.e. all the powers not granted to Congress—as every other State, but that does not mean that the State Legislature has them. In many States the legislative powers are, under the State Constitution,12 reserved to the people, whether by a referendum, or a convention, or otherwise, and in them the State Legislature is little more than a place for drafting Bills for submission to the electorate, or for enacting Private Bill legislation. Here all is heterogeneity. The conditions of an advanced State, like New York, may allow of a high development of representative government; those of another, like Oregon, may admit of the primitive forms of a Landsgemeinde: The 'equality he State Legislatures inter se, and from the point of view of the Federal Legislature, is therefore very illusory. It would, doubtless, be better that Congress should have larger powers of legislation over some States—especially the more backward States, whose Isaan latures, as their peoples have found, cannot be trus u-ur these others, but that is impossible owing to the contribe ill-advised of the original Constitution, and the referendy Germany's policy tion are a kind of desperate escape from the equilibrium of uniformity. The uniformity of the le descent on Tripoli; and, and the equality of State represensitical and poisonous growth political ideal but a political spirit of Continental syndicalism. the jealousies of the origions, more general in character. These whether large or smp1 They are obvious enough.

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hately for use start from the supremacy of the Imperial Parlie and it is one the great virtues of that Parliament that it can and docume islate more for one part of the kingdom than for another; that it can differentiate between Ireland and Scotland and Wales.14 Any student of the statutebook can discover for himself how for this differentiation has already been carried. A friend of the we er Mr. H. de R. Walker, has, after a careful estimate, come to the clusion that in no fewer than 49.8 per cents of the Public Go al Acts of the United Kingdom for the set twenty years has Parliament legislated separatel or the separate countries of the United Kingdom; in

only 50.2 per cent. has she legislater to whole.

Nor is this the whole story... Ever latter category bears within it evidence of legislative separation. Bills relating to the whole of the United Kingdom have, owing to the differences between Scottish, Irish, and English law and administration, to be drafted as composite Bills with what are known as application clauses, which define and vary how much or how little of the Bill is to apply to Scotland and Ireland as the case may be. Such a Bill is a kind of skeleton-key designed to fit three different locks, but it requires an expert locksmith to forge it, and the process does not make for the participation of the untutored private member in its construction. Nor does it make for simplicity, and yet one of the first amons of legislation is, as Berman long ago pointed out, that it should, in the language of the Prayer Book, be easily understanded of the people. We have recently had in the case of issurance. Bill aftexample of how difficult it is to draft a great measure for the whole of the United Kingdom, involving e large questions of administration, without raising difficulties such as those that are forced to the front by the position of the Health wouramitter ander the Scottish system of local government. All this he was its to lying that we already have legislative devolution in

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# NINETEENTH GENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCCXXV-July 1912

# THE OUTLOOK FROM AUSTRALIA

RECENT epoch-making events, of profound interest to the world at large, have served to direct the serious attention of thoughtful Australians to the international outlook, and impelled them to reflect upon the position their island continent occupies as an integral portion of the British Empire. Foremost among these events may be classed the revolution in China, the ill-advised (from the Australian point of view) check to Germany's policy of expansion in Africa, the disturbance to the equilibrium of European relationships by the Italian descent on Tripoli; and, not least in significance, the parasitical and poisonous growth on industrial bodies of the spirit of Continental syndicalism. There are other considerations, more general in character. These need not be specified. They are obvious enough.

In the present paper I endeavour to present, as accurately as careful observation enables me, a reflex of Australian thought on the outlook for the immediate future, and on the trend of developments among foreign nations as they may eventually threaten the corporate unity of the Empire, and especially as

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they may affect Australia. The subject can be treated without raising that wolf-cry of the yellow peril, or offending the susceptibilities of any foreign Power. The yellow peril is not immediately at hand, but there is a history in the making which shall determine its strength and its proximity.

By reason of her peculiar geographical position, her vast area and varied resources, her rapidly extending maritime and commercial interests, and, not least, her scanty population, Australia must in future enter more largely than in the past into the calculations of nations whose internal necessities compel them to seek territorial expansion and new outlets for their surplus populations. Rich and valuable a possession as this continent is of itself, its value is enhanced a hundredfold by the fact that it is the key to the whole South Pacific. To this important consideration the average Australian is now thoroughly awake. He, a dweller in a land of unbroken peace, has quite recently assented to comprehensive and costly measures of naval and military defence. These measures, if not intended for mere outward show, mean, in plain English, that there is a possibility of this great British outpost being some day detached from the Empire of which it forms a part. Remote contingency, maybe, yet undeniably a possible one; nay, well within the region of probability in the not far-off future.

Australia enjoys this singular distinction, that it was acquired without conquest. A few naked savages pointed their spears at the intruders and ran away; nor did any tribe ever think seriously of disputing the right of the white man to push the primitive occupiers from their happy hunting-grounds and make the country his own. The Britisher has for 124 years remained in undisputed possession, and Australian history is an unbroken record of peaceful progress, its soil untrod by the foot of an invader, unstained by bloodshed in its defence. How much longer Australia may enjoy immunity from the 'bloody arbitrament of the sword 'no man can pretend to say.

'What a city to sack!' said the old Prussian Marshal as he drove through the heart of London. 'What a continent to take!' may be said, is probably now being said, by foreign nations, of Australia. What a possession for, say, the Asiatics. There are 450,000,000 of them within easy striking distance. With Australia's immense potentialities, her spaciousness, her rich soil, her unrivalled climate, here is a sea-girt land hungering and crying out for more people. In the eyes of starving and downtrod millions of Asia, Australia must appear an all but vacant paradise, a continent which, but for the British flag and the British fleet, could be had almost for the asking. Here are four and a half millions of people occupying three million square

miles of territory—roughly speaking, about three persons to every two square miles.

Let anyon's reflect for a moment upon Australia's wonderful strategic position for naval and military enterprises. Sufficiently peopled, say, by Asiatics, with the armies that could there be raised, the navies that could be built, the supplies that could be furnished, such a continent could safely defy the rest of the world in arms. Mark the significance of the sea-girt position. If England, that little speck on the map, owes her security, her invincible power, largely to the circumstance that she is 'compassed by the inviolate sea,' what Power or combination of Powers could touch sea-encompassed lands, sufficiently peopled, which in area (including New Zealand) are more than twenty-six times as large as the United Kingdom, more than fifteen times as large as France, more than half as large again as Russia in Europe, and almost equal in extent to the Continent of Europe or the United States of America? In the hands of Asiatics, captained, say, by the Japanese, Australia could at no distant time send forth armies able to sweep over the face of Europe, and navies that would make Japan the unchallengeable mistress of the sea, and queen of the fairest portions of the earth.

The incorporation of Australia into the dominions of the yellow man must to the Oriental mind seem a quite natural, even a divinely appointed, event. Had the East not been asleep while the West was wide awake, the yellow man might to-day be chanting the refrain in the Great Southland: 'This bit of the world belongs to us.' But the East is now awakening from its long sleep. The yellow man is looking about him, 'going to and forth in the earth, and walking up and down in it.' Especially he has an eye on the South Pacific, studying its map, even having some bad dreams of the South Pole.

The South Pole! A triffing incident may here be mentioned. Some five or six months ago a small Japanese exploring ship, the Kainan Maru, anchored in Sydney Harbour. The captain, officers, and men camped on its hospitable banks, remaining there several days. 'It was given out that the destination of the party was the South Pole, which they were one and all solemnly pledged, under a binding oath, to reach or never to return to their That so tiny a craft, imperfectly equipped as she native land. was for Polar exploration, should ever reach the South Pole, or get anywhere near that point, was laughed at by everyone who had seen the little ship. Still, the explorers were indulgently They were variously the objects of curiosity, sympathy, treated. and suspicion. They were regarded as either fatalists or heroic and patriotic enthusiasts. No one looked on them as plain fools. Their mission interested many, in a way. Professor David, the

eminent geologist, of Sydney University, who had himself got pretty near the South Pole with the Shackleton expedition, gave them kindly words of advice and encouragement, and the Kainan Maru sailed away with the good wishes of all Australia. Mark the sequel. The Kainan Maru returned to Wellington (N.Z.) on the 23rd of March this year, having been away just 124 days. During its wanderings it lost some of its dogs-that was all. The explorers then announced that they 'did not go to look for the South Pole, but confined themselves to scientific exploration.' It is needless to comment on the irreconcilable statements made as to the business of this expedition in the Southern Seas. were those who, before the party left Sydney, had their doubts about the real object in view. These doubts are now more than strengthened. The impression is gaining ground in Australia that the Kainan Maru's mission was neither more nor less than part of a general plan by the Japanese to mark out territory for occupation in the South Pacific.

But let that pass. The yellow races have yet to realise the value of consolidation. That may come. A Chino-Japanese alliance is a perfectly natural development. It is perhaps inevitable, and may come when China's internal strife and bloodshed are ended and the great Oriental Republic now in the making settles down to business. With China and Japan in alliance, the yellow man will begin to feel his real strength, and, no doubt, cherish an ambition for a bigger place in the sun than he has yet dreamed of. East and West may thus soon find themselves on a relatively changed footing, their lines of life drifting still farther apart. To paraphrase the well-known words in Lee's tragedy, when Asiatics join Asiatics, then will come the tug-of-war.

At any rate China, freed from the manacles of the Manchu and become a Republic, must in future be reckoned with on a basis of valuation as a World Power far different from that in its pigtail period. For it is not a question of what the present generation of Asiatics may be contemplating. It is what future

generations, in their own interests, may be driven to do.

The existing Anglo-Japanese Treaty expires within the next three years. Up to yesterday, so to speak, everything pointed to a further renewal of the alliance. Mutuality of interest required a continuance of existing relations. But the whole international position has been fundamentally altered by the revolution in China. In that revolution the hand of the Jap may be traced, not, to be sure, as instigator, but as the friend, guardian, and counsellor of the principal actor in the hideous drama. Yuan Shi-kai, to-day the first man in China, has long been under Japanese tutelage and influence. To Germany, for that and incidental reasons,

he was never persona grata. That he is now at the head of the newly-borr. Republic must be peculiarly gratifying to Japan, and he only just missed the Imperial Crown. From the end of the Russo-Japanese war, if not before, the eventual Japanisation of China was clearly foreseen, and by no Power more sharply realised than Germany. Next to Russia, Japan's smashing victories at Port Arthur and on the sea were most seriously regarded by Germany, whose ambitious enterprises in Asia received a check that profoundly disturbed the equanimity of the Wilhelmstrasse. Yuan Shi-kai's elevation may be regarded as one of the most signal triumphs of Japanese diplomacy. It is a further revelation of the genius for high statesmanship of that far-seeing, patient, and singularly gifted people. The Japanisation of China becomes all the easier now by the circumstance that Yuan is neither a Napoleon nor a Cromwell. He is simply a useful and accomplished instrument in the hands of others. Left to his own resources in the bloody upheaval that was sure to come soon or late, he would probably have been one of the first to lose his head. In a peculiar degree Yuan Shi-kai is a Man of Destiny.

From the Australian point of view, as surely from the European and American, Japan is thus seen to be fast strengthening and consolidating her already powerful position, and extending her commanding influence in the East. She has in China a willing and natural friend and ally, the yellow streak of kinship cementing the bonds between them, and the puling and bleeding infant Republic doubtless only too ready to look to this Britain

of the East as guardian, guide, and protector.

Hence there must come, as may easily be foreseen, a tremendous swing in the balance of power from West to East. International relationships may be expected to undergo material changes from now onwards, as a result of the revolution in China. The lines of diplomacy among the Great Powers may be forced to cross each other at new points. Japan, through Yuan, will hold China in the hollow of her hand, and use her to the advantage of both herself and her Gargantuan protégée; while the British Alliance may not henceforth be to Japan the beneficial and necessary arrangement it has hitherto been. What dreams of conquest, of greatness, of destiny, may now fill the minds of the silent, high-spirited, calculating Japanese, with their splendid victories immediately behind them, their visions of glory as pillars of fire before, may be left to the imagination. What we have to think about, and what we know, is that Japan, a land not rich in natural resources, must adopt a policy of commercial and territorial expansion. She is not less ambitious, nor is she less keen for expansion, than Germany; while she is quicker in movement, and perhaps more sure in aim. Japan, the undisputed

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mistress of the East, conscious of her power, has already shown that she cannot, will not, rest content cribbed, cabined, and confined within her present narrow limits, not even with her footing in Manchuria and Korea. She, too, is 'compassed by the inviolate sea,' like England, her Western ally and geographical prototype. It is, indeed, quite within the bounds of probability that, in colonisation and Empire building, the future history of Japan will bear a strong resemblance to that of England. That this Colossus of the East will yet become a great colonising Power, and leave the stamp of her people's genius wherever her flag flies, seems morally certain. As a sphere of influence, where could this Eastern Colossus find a region more congenial, a land of promise more inviting than Australia?

Than the Japanese no people on this planet are more alive to the value of education as a factor in Empire building; nor would it be easy to name a race so eager to be educated. What Japan now requires is unoccupied or sparsely occupied and fertile territory—above all, the command of the South Pacific. To her the command of the Pacific is a matter of supreme and transcending

importance.

Now let us glance at Australia's vulnerability. Here, to begin with, is a monstrous anomaly, and at the same time a peril. In an age of feverish desire for space and expansion, with the evils of overcrowded cities a reproach to civilisation, and with the eyes of men turned even to polar regions for relief, there lies, far removed from the heart of the Empire, a great continent which, after more than a century of occupation by one of the most progressive races, is the home of a mere handful of people. Let me repeat, here is Australia's deadly peril. Need we wonder that land-hungry people, and nations ambitious for commercial expansion, should be comparing Australians to those big landowning monopolists who neither put their acres to proper use themselves, nor allow others to occupy and cultivate them? An isolated continent so situated cannot fail to excite the envy, the justifiable cupidity, of nations and races who think they can put it to better use. With New Zealand near by, and the countless strings of pendent isles glittering in the South Pacific, Australia stands out as an absolutely priceless possession, the heritage, and for the present the home, of the white man. The Power that holds Australia holds the key to the South Pacific, and the South Pacific is destined, for good or ill, to be the theatre of events which will exercise an all-important influence on the future of the human race.

How, then, will Australia stand in the not very remote future? And what is being done, or rather left undone, to preserve her as an integral part of the British Empire and the home of the white man? The supreme needs of Australia are three in number: (1) Increased population; (2) a consolidation of the Imperial naval and military forces; (3) industrial peace. Only within the last kew years have the first two of these received in Australia anything like adequate attention. The third has, unhappily, compelled attention.

It is something gained, however slight, that Australia has at length made some practical recognition of her imperial responsibilities. If the possession of a local navy meant nothing more than the slight material advantages to be derived from this effort at national insurance, it would still be of great value. But it has a deeper significance. It makes for the unity and solidarity of the Empire, and gives eloquent expression to the sentiment in the apothegms: 'One people, one destiny,' 'One flag, one fleet.' Such, at any rate, was the sentiment that gave it birth. Moreover, the mere fact of the Commonwealth possessing its own ships of war has already had some effect in stimulating popular interest in defence problems. It has also done much in the way of quickening Australian patriotism, though the Australian boy is not responding too readily to the call of duty. The Commonwealth has established a system of compulsory military training for cadets between fourteen and eighteen years of age. The first call to enrol was rather shyly responded to, but as a rule those who have enrolled as cadets have done so with a spirit of lovalty worthy of the best traditions of the British race.1 Many, however, hung back, either from instinctive repugnance to discipline and restraint, or under the authority of parents opposed to militarism in any shape. A few, after enrolling, have shown a disposition to become insubordinate, while some have been punished for default or misbehaviour.

When all is said, it is clear that Australia still remains absolutely dependent upon the British Navy for protection from foreign aggression. For many years to come, the local contribution to the defence of the continent must be comparatively small. Meanwhile, the danger of Australia being detached from Great Britain

increases every year.

The international outlook, leaving China out of the question, is somewhat complicated and clouded by the feverish activity of Germany with her ambitious naval and military preparations. Few in Australia regard those preparations as other than a challenge to Great Britain's naval, commercial, and colonising supremacy. If the German Dreadnoughts and destroyers are not

<sup>1</sup> At the first review of cadets by the Governor-General of Australia, held in Centennial Park, Sydney, on the 30th of March this year, the field state showed a muster of 18,849 lads in uniform. The smart appearance of the boys, their precision in drill, and soldierly bearing elicted Lord Denman's warm congratulations. This muster was from the metropolitan area only.

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being built with the object of breaking the naval power of Great Britain, and wresting from her the command of the sea, the millions being spent on them, on forts and fortifications, and in perfecting the stupendous military organisations of the Fatherland and its alliances, would be a wanton and purposeless waste of treasure. But the whole world knows there is a fixed purpose behind it all. These preparations, it must be remembered, with the tremendous financial burdens they involve, have the sanction of a loyal and carefully instructed German public opinion. recent signs of a desire for an Anglo-German entente, due to the good offices of Lord Haldane, may be taken for what they are worth. But the suggestion of an English professor for cutting Australia in two and handing over half to Germany is not merely worthless, it is ridiculous and impossible, and is so regarded from one end of Australia to the other. However, should, unhappily, Great Britain and Germany ever go to war, the struggle will take place in a quarter and under conditions that would leave the South Pacific open to the Jap, and the Jap, we may be sure, would not be slow to seize his opportunity. And it is doubtful if the measure of protection which the Mother Country could spare for operations in the China Sea and the South Pacific would be sufficient to save Australia from an Asiatic invasion. Germany, as is well known, has soaring ambitions and far-reaching colonising and commercial aims. Already she has a footing in Papua, and some small interests in Pacific islands. Australian shipowners know to their cost what these are. Especially anxious is she to extend and consolidate her interests there. It would be a master stroke of statecraft on the part of the Wilhelmstrasse to detach Australia from Great Britain. taking possession of Australia herself, Germany would immensely strengthen her position not only in the South Seas, but throughout the world. The temptation is great, the advantages to be gained worth the price of any number of Dreadnoughts.

Something may here be said of the German element in Australia. Numerically the German-born are comparatively few in number, but those of German extraction form no inconsiderable proportion of our population. Immigrants from the Fatherland and their descendants comprise many of the best, the most intelligent, and most valuable of our citizens. They are industrious, thrifty, law-abiding. With a preference for land occupation, they have a tendency to become producers. Such are exactly the class of immigrant that Australia wants. With undiminished reverence for the Fatherland, the German-Australian is as loyal to the land of his adoption and to the British connexion as the average Britisher. To the German in Australia a quarrel between the

Fatherland and Great Britain would be peculiarly abhorrent. He might, indeed, perceive a divided duty, and be torn by conflicting emotions, but his attachment to his adopted land, the birthplace of his children, would probably outweigh all other feeling and govern his actions. Exceptions to this rule there might be, but these would probably be few.

However, the question forces itself on us now, Is Australia to become a pawn in the game of international politics? A former Governor of New South Wales assured the present writer, at the time one of his constitutional advisers, that he had confidential advice from the Home Government of projected designs by Germany on Australia. For Germany to get possession of Australia now would be a splendid revenge for Morocco. And how dramatically appropriate!

There is thus presented the spectacle of a great European as well as the greatest Asiatic Power longing to get possession of the key to the Pacific. In the steps to reach their end the Asiatic may prove too wily for the European, if the Motherland is not too watchful and too powerful for both. Before Germany could set possessory foot on Australia she must first successfully match her Dreadnoughts and destroyers against the British Fleet; and in the event of the Germans coming out of the struggle alive, and then setting out on a territory-hunting expedition in the South Pacific, with Australia as their first objective, they might, in all probability would, find that the wily Jap had slipped in before them, locked the door, and pocketed the key.

Summing up the whole position, it is the prevailing opinion in Australia that a war between Great Britain and Germany would give Japan her opening for a decisive move on the South Pacific; that if Australia is to remain part of the British Empire and in occupation of the Anglo-Saxon race, she must in the first place attract white immigrants from oversea in numbers at least equal to what Canada is securing; further, that she must be prepared to offer them a prospect of easy acquisition of suitable land. In the next place, she should understand that her local fleet, to be of any use at all, must be a unit of the Imperial Navy, and under the absolute control of the British Admiralty. Beyond all this, the belief is general that the keeping of this most important outpost in possession of the white race should be not merely the concern of Great and Greater Britain, but of the United States of America and the whole of the European Powers. These should all with one voice raise the warning cry to the Asiatic, 'Hands off Australia!' This consideration alone, even if there were no other weighty reasons, ought to keep Germany from picking a quarrel with Great Britain, and Great Britain from being a party to thwarting Germany's policy of expansion in Africa.

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There remains that deep-rooted internal canker, the virus of Continental syndicalism, with its envenomed weapon the universal strike. Wherever it appears, and here in Australia it has taken root, it spreads its blighting influence alike on domestic, industrial, and political life, undermines the social fabric, is at deadly enmity with religion in any form, and threatens with destruction all national sentiment and aspiration for higher ideals. Of all dangers to Australia, in so far as concerns her possible detachment from the Motherland, this is perhaps the greatest, since its tendency is to leave her weak and exposed, and apparently no activity of foresight, no appeals to the instincts of humanity or patriotism, can prevail against its growing and baneful influence.

World-wide issues are at stake, and mighty problems are awaiting solution in this twentieth century. A High Court of Destiny is even now sitting which shall yet adjudicate between East and West, which shall for all time settle the question of paramountcy in the Pacific, which shall further determine whether Christianity is to fade before the mystic religions of the Orient, and whether the white man or the yellow man shall dominate

the world.

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# OUR SHORTAGE OF HORSES FOR WAR

A SUGGESTED SCHEME FOR MOBILISATION

BEFORE the outbreak of the South African war the question whether there were sufficient horses in the United Kingdom for purposes of mobilisation of the Home forces was one that caused little concern to the War Office, or to legislators who had the welfare of the country at heart.

Since that time two great changes have taken place; firstly, a matter which must give to us serious thought, our position in relation to other Great Powers is altered in that we must now be prepared to mobilise our expeditionary force with almost the same celerity as they mobilise their forces, and consequently be dependent on the horse supply which exists at home, at any rate until oversea communication with our Colonies is safely established; secondly, the number of suitable horses for military purposes has decreased to an alarming extent.

When the South African war was over, and experience had taught us that arrangements for horse mobilisation were not all that they should be, an attempt was made to create some sort of organisation by which the necessary supply for war could be obtained. The ideas then formulated can be seen in the Remount Manual of 1906, the book on remount matters which exists at the present time. Since this edition of the Remount Manual was published, the authorities have issued three different schemes aiming at a solution of the question as to how horses can best be obtained for mobilisation. According to the first or original scheme, referred to above, a remount officer was appointed to the administrative staff of each command; so far as mobilisation went he was supposed to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the horse-producing capabilities of his area, consisting generally of some twelve counties—a somewhat impossible task for one man to undertake; but in some commands a rough outline of the numbers was arrived at through the kind assistance of chief constables and their subordinates. The next step which had to be taken was to map out the command into 'requisition areas' calculated to provide on emergency 200 to 300 horses, and to find qualified gentlemen willing to act as purchasers in these areas when required on mobilisation taking place; but no

military classification of the horses could be made or the actual location of them be found out, so that this work was of no practical use. Enough has been said to show that the first scheme was scarcely good enough for the making of a rapid mobilisation, though credit should be given to its originators for some of the ideas contained. During the period that this scheme held sway there existed one method of obtaining horses rapidly for war which was of practical value—namely, the registration of horses, about which I speak later.

In 1908 a slight modification was made in the mobilisation arrangements by deputing to county associations the responsibility of obtaining horses for their own Territorial Forces.

In January 1910 an altogether new scheme appeared in a circular memorandum (No. 231), which was commented upon at length, about that time, by the military correspondent of *The Times*. This memorandum aimed at putting the whole responsibility on the county associations of providing both the Regular and Territorial Forces with horses when mobilisation occurred.

The system advocated therein, a mere outline, was based on the fact that the police authorities had undertaken to make a census of horses in each county annually; most of the horses enumerated in the census were apparently considered to be suitable for war purposes, as no mention of a military classification was made throughout the memorandum; though it expressed hope that with the aid of the police census and such local information as might prove available a fairly accurate estimate of the suitable horses could be made!

The scheme entirely overlooked the chain of responsibility which is a recognised and necessary adjunct to all military organisation and action, and so was doomed to failure from the first; unfortunately valuable time, some eighteen months, has been spent in attempts by various county associations to evolve out of it a practical system. The scheme outlined in this memorandum has been dropped, and a new one, which is a step in the right direction, was promulgated in August 1911. Earlier in that year Section 114 of the Army Act was amended so that power could be given to certain officers of entering stables and inspecting horses belonging to business firms and private individuals, with a view to making a classification of their horses for military purposes; on these powers and the police census of 1910 the provisions of this, the present scheme, are founded. It lays the responsibility on general officers commanding-in-chief of classifying and selecting horses in peace time for the requirements of war, and of purchasing, collecting, and distributing them to their various units on mobilisation. For purposes of classification, the first important work to be done, it delegates

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the powers referred to above to adjutants of the Territorial Force, who are to be employed in the work of travelling round and inspecting horse; at such times as will not interfere with their other duties. It is difficult to see how exactly this can be accomplished, or in fact how those adjutants who have not a large experience of horses can efficiently make a military classification of horses at all.

When it is considered that the army is almost as dependent on its acquirement of horses as it is on the munitions of war, for without either it is powerless, it would seem of utmost importance that clear directions should emanate from the responsible head authority on all such details as to how horses should be classified, purchased, collected, and distributed, so that each command shall work on the same lines and in such a manner that the country can feel satisfied that the necessary number of horses required for mobilisation will be forthcoming in the required short space of time. Each of these steps requires considerable thought, embodying knowledge of horses and the horse question generally; and one at least-collection-requires more than a dictum of 'will be responsible for this,' without thought or reference to the means of its accomplishment. The matter is of such vital importance to the nation that no trouble, statutory powers, or expense should be spared to place us in the same position of security in this respect as exists among other Great Powers.

It is impossible to feel with confidence that the few instructions contained in this scheme, with the haphazard methods therein suggested, can successfully bring about the rapid mobilisation of horses for the expeditionary force so absolutely necessary for the work required from it. It is well to remember that we cannot say that our expeditionary force can mobilise unless we can also say that each unit will undoubtedly get its full number of horses in the required time.

The British Isles, especially Ireland, have been for some generations considered the home above all others of the well-bred horse, and of its production; with the advent of the motor, and the increase in the breeding of cart-horses (Shire horses principally) by many who formerly bred nothing but light horses, it is a somewhat difficult matter to say what numbers of well-bred horses exist in comparison with years gone by.

We are very much 'in the air' as to our knowledge of the horse supply in the country. There are no reliable statistics on which an opinion can be adequately formed; no real census has ever been taken, at any rate in modern times. The Board of Agriculture, certainly, collects information annually from farmers, and renders a return dealing with horses used on the farms, brood

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mares, young stock, and so forth; it shows only to a certain extent the increase or decrease in the number of horses bred. A rough census was taken through the instrumentality of police constables in 1910, useful from a military point of view in that the names and addresses of horse-owners are given. The returns have been made out to show the numbers of riding, light draught, and heavy draught horses, and ponies between 13.2 hands and 14.2 hands, without reference to age, type, or breeding; it is interesting to find that, according to these returns, the numbers of riding, light draught, heavy draught, and ponies are in the ratio of 1, 3.5, 4.8, and .96 respectively, thus pointing to a large preponderance of the cart-horse type.

But the 'police census' does not nearly bring to light all that we should know concerning our horse supply; and it appears more than ever necessary in these days of motor traction and consequent decrease in the use of the light draught horse (for the carriage, the 'bus, and light van) that we should have a proper census taken from time to time, as on the Continent, so that we can judge with fair accuracy the number of our horses,

their age, class, and utility.

There is no doubt whatever but that the breeding of light or moderately well-bred horses has steadily and largely diminished during the last twenty years. This growing decrease has caused the serious consideration of those who take an interest in horsebreeding, and also of those who realise that a shortage may occur even for the requirements of the Army when engaged in a

European war.

The principal sources of demand for the light horses we breed are now the foreign market, the hunting-field, and lastly the Army, which buys at present under 3000 horses annually. Should hunting decline, or from one cause or another be stopped in the United Kingdom (which may the Fates forbid), there will be scarcely any demand in this country for the type of horse required for the cavalry and artillery; it will then behove the Government to breed horses themselves for military requirements, as has had to be done on the Continent. Thus it will be seen that a careful eye should be kept on the state of our horse supply; the only way to do this would appear to be by means of a census, as is done in France, Germany, and Austria.

The above-named countries, of course, all require larger standing armies than ourselves, and consequently more horses for military purposes. At the same time they do not possess the same natural advantages, such as hunting, to induce private individuals to go in for breeding; so that we have had up to now an incentive for breeding riding horses which is possessed by no other country to the same degree. I make these pre-

liminary remarks with a view to emphasising the fact that a mobilisation of horses for war is dependent on the supply and its upkeep.

NUMBER OF HORSES REQUIRED FOR MOBILISATION

On a general, mobilisation taking place the Regular Army at home requires about 44,000 horses to fill up its ranks to war strength, and the Territorial forces about another 86,000; it may be expected that an additional twenty per cent. will be wanted at the end of a fortnight's campaigning to replace casualties in such troops as are in the fighting line.

Until comparatively recent times there has been known to be an ample supply of horses fit for Army purposes; and there has not appeared to be the same necessity for such a rapid acquirement of them as at present exists, so that it has been considered sufficiently safe to rely on the ability of purchasing in the open market the number of horses required to fill up the various arms to war strength—that is, above and beyond such numbers as were on the 'registered list.'

#### REGISTRATION

Registration of horses was instituted by the late Major-General Ravenhill, the idea being that private individuals or business firms with large stocks of horses should be invited to register a certain number of their horses, which could be bought at a price mutually agreed upon by the Army authorities and themselves on the outbreak of war, an annual fee of 10s. per horse being paid to the owner. For several years, and in fact until the motor came into use, there was little difficulty in getting 20,000 workable and suitable horses on the register.

When it is brought to mind that (to give an example) the London General Omnibus Company used to keep 15,000 to 16,000 horses in London and district alone, and that now they have not one, it will be seen that a large source of immediate supply for the artillery, engineers, and transport has disappeared throughout England, Scotland, and Wales—a very serious matter. For, not only are there considerably fewer horses of the above type now than formerly, but they will tend still further to diminish according to the natural law of 'supply and demand.'

Let us consider for a moment whether we can leave things as formerly; namely, rely on a certain number of registered horses, and trust to luck for obtaining the necessary remainder in the open market.

It is getting more difficult year by year to induce owners to register their horses at the 10s. retaining fee, and indeed, as pointed out above, there does not exist the required class of horse Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for registration. It might be possible to purchase in the open market, through the medium of dealers, sufficient horses to fill up to strength the cavalry and transport services in a comparatively short space of time; but no large dealer, in spite of all the advantages he possesses, his knowledge of the location of horses, and his command over various agents, can say for certain how long it will take him to collect the number required. No doubt, if time were of not much importance there is every probability of the large dealer acquiring the number of horses of the types named above in a more satisfactory way than could be done by any other means.

With regard to artillery horses (R.H.A. and R.F.A.), information gleaned from some of the most reliable men who purchase that class of horse points to the fact of its being an impossibility to acquire such horses fit for service, either in the requisite numbers or time.

Thus it may be concluded that matters cannot rest as formerly.

It may be asked why the artillery horse should be more difficult to obtain than the cavalry or transport horse; the answer shortly is that this type of horse has diminished most seriously in numbers, and brigades of Horse and Field Artillery are consequently kept most lamentably short of horses in peace time.

Most brigades (three batteries) of Field Artillery require, over and above their peace establishment, no less than 415 draughthorses on mobilisation, in addition to extra riders.

The type required is a horse with some breeding, active, fairly fast, able to gallop, and not too heavy and clumsy for a little driver to ride; the beau ideal is the weight-carrying hunter, but the horse one was accustomed to see some years back in the omnibus is very suitable.

I feel convinced that, whatever scheme may be adopted for horse mobilisation, the necessary number of horses will not be forthcoming unless the peace establishment is raised for Royal Horse and Field Artillery. Presuming that a considerably larger number were kept, it is just possible that certain large dealers could procure the remainder. But this would only apply to a mobilisation for service abroad, as distinct from service at home—namely, on invasion; an eventuality for which we should be prepared.

In the latter case we must obtain our horses in a very short space of time.

We arrive now at the fact that, with a view to feeling comfortable, so to speak, we require practically the same organisation for the acquirement of horses in case of war as exists in all great Continental countries. It may be as well to glance briefly at the conditions on which their organisation is based.

SYSTEM ADOPTED FOR MOBILISATION ON THE CONTINENT

In the first place these countries keep large Government breeding establishments—needless to say, at considerable expense—and thus make certain that there is a sufficient number of horses for military purposes on emergency. The cost of horse supply to some of these countries is considerably over 1,000,000l. a year.

A census is taken by the civil authority; they (the civil authorities) are also responsible for the collection of horses in their districts on a certain date, in order that the animals may be inspected and classified by a mixed commission of military and civil authorities. When mobilisation takes place owners are obliged to bring, to certain central places, the horses that are required from them; the horses are purchased at these places and taken over by the military.

The above is a rough outline of the system which is in vogue in most Continental countries. It will be seen that the system is such that their requirements can be fulfilled in the shortest possible time, and it hangs on two laws: firstly, one empowering the civil authority to take a census and to produce the horses before a commission for military classification; secondly, one obliging the owners to bring their horses to certain centres on mobilisation. There is no doubt that, to follow on identically the same lines would be the best scheme to adopt; but it must be remembered that the countries which adopt this system have a rightful call, so to speak, on the inhabitants, in that they spend large amounts on their horse supply, and the inhabitants are imbued with military ideas and a knowledge of military exigencies from the fact of their general liability to service in the Army. Our case is not analogous, and it would appear hopeless to adopt the Continental system in its entirety until universal service is also adopted.

It thus appears that what we require is a scheme modelled on that of the Continent, with certain modifications.

### SCHEME SUGGESTED FOR MOBILISATION

There has existed for some time the power of impressing horses and vehicles, the conditions of which are laid down in Army Act, Section 115; and, lately, a law has been passed giving the right of entry into stables and inspection of all horses, with a few exceptions, such as those belonging to royal stables, embassies, police, racing stables, etc.

Given these powers, we must consider what machinery can be set up for working towards the desired end, which is as follows:

To be able to say that every unit of the expeditionary force Vol. LXXII—No. 425 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri has its full complement of horses present in the ranks, and this within six days after the order is given to mobilise; that a reserve of 20 per cent. will be forthcoming each succeeding fortnight; and that the Territorial forces will get their horses as soon as the expeditionary force leaves these shores.

Can we do it, are there a sufficient number of horses fit

in the country?

It is impossible to say with certainty, though one is inclined to think so from a glance at the police census; but the probabilities are (and this is based on personal experience) that not one-tenth of the riding and light draught horses shown therein are suitable for the expeditionary force, from one cause or another.

It must be remembered that horses which are provided for the expeditionary force must be all workably sound, fit in condition, not too young or too old, and suitable for the branch or arm to which they are sent; so that the general officer commanding the forces, probably overseas and consequently dependent on their replenishment from home, can set to work at once unhampered by a lot of animals that are 'done' at the end of the second day's march. Mobility is half the battle.

The machinery that is set up in time of peace for the purchase, collection of the horses, and their ultimate distribution, at a time when there is likely to be great stress, must be so perfect that doubt as to their provision and arrival at the various places of mobilisation should be well-nigh impossible, for the safety of the country and its success in war is immensely dependent on it.

In fact, any scheme based on Continental lines (in other words, that of impressment) which is not thorough will not only be disastrous but expensive, in that money spent on half-measures

had better not be spent at all.

The problem, therefore, how to get a sufficient number of suitable horses for the different branches of the Army, in the required time, is one which needs deep thought and grasp of a very complex subject, one of great magnitude, in which the consideration of detail is paramount.

The two main factors which form the basis of our organisa-

tion are:

(1) Knowledge as to the exact state of our horse supply.

(2) A military classification. We will take them in order:

#### Horse Census

Reasons have been given before showing how vital it is to the country's interests that we should keep ourselves well acquainted with the state of our horse supply; but, besides this, a horse census is the foundation on which a military classification is made; it is necessary that the military authorities should know where horses are located, their numbers, and the changes that occur in them from one period to another.

## CENSUS TO BE TAKEN ANNUALLY

From a military point of view a census should be taken annually. It would appear that the taking of it can only be done by the civil authorities under instructions from the Government. The method of making a census is a matter which, no doubt, presents some difficulty, as the statistics to be desired affect the civil and agricultural element of the country as well as the military, and from a civil point of view an annual census is scarcely necessary.

For the work of a military classification alone the addresses of owners and the number of horses they keep, according to the police census taken in 1910, gives sufficient knowledge (under certain conditions mentioned later) so long as the information is kept up to date year by year; the question is whether such information could be combined with the gathering of that so much required on the condition of our horse supply and breeding, etc.

Possibly a system might be devised on lines somewhat similar to those adopted by the Board of Agriculture, who collect information from farmers on crops, live stock and horses, by means of certain forms which are sent to them to fill in annually.

The details requiring answers on these forms might be amplified, so far as horses go, and sent to horse-owners as well as occupiers of land; or, better still, special forms, referring to horses only, might be sent out to all horse-owners, including farmers; but the forms now sent to farmers are only returned to the authorities at the farmers' good will, and the information supplied is not always correct, so it would seem advisable, in the matter under discussion, to adopt a more compulsory attitude.

If the above idea could be carried out, and it should not be very difficult with the number of civil officials that now exist, it would be a great step in the right direction towards the country's well-being.

Given a horse census, we now come to the next step in our organisation—a military classification.

#### MILITARY CLASSIFICATION

A military classification is made primarily with the object of bringing up to war strength the units of the various branches of the Army when a mobilisation takes place; it should be carried out in such a manner that there is every reasonable probability of our being able to acquire, at any time, the number of horses shown under the various headings (Cavalry, Artillery, etc.) of the

July

classification returns or forms; and the horses thus shown should be suitable, namely-may I be forgiven the repetition? it is important-workably sound, fit in condition, of proper age, and suitable for the branch to which they are allotted.

In these islands as compared with Continental countries there is an initial difficulty to be faced in deciding on the method of obtaining a classification; as mentioned before, on the Continent the obligation is thrown on owners, in each district or commune. of bringing their horses to a central place on a certain date for the purpose of being classified by a military commission, or board; which obviously saves time, trouble, and expense, and tends to ensure a reliable classification.

At present we are unable to do the same, therefore individual officers must travel considerable distances in order to inspect and classify horses which are dotted here and there over a broad expanse of country; and the reliability of the returns which these officers render is dependent on their individual capacity and the knowledge of horses that they possess.

It thus is very necessary that those officers who classify horses for the expeditionary force should be carefully chosen for their general aptitude, and expert knowledge and judgment of the animal required; I think it will be agreed that were the matter to refer to cattle, sheep, or other animals, only such persons as were capable of judging them would be employed to do so.

The following is an example of a suggested classification form, each form covering a double page of a book when open. form can, if considered desirable, have extra spaces drawn for the classification of vehicles, or 'turns-out' complete; but as these refer more especially to the Territorial forces, they should be included on other forms specially drawn up for that force.

Police Division and its Headquarters

	Address of Stables	Average Number of Horses Kept	Number of Horses Classified as Suitable							
Name and Occupation of Owner			Cavalry			Transport				Remarks and Date of Classifi-
			Heavy	Light	Artil- lery	H.D.	L.D.	M.I.	Pack	cation
1	CC-0.	In Public D	omain	. Guri	l ukul Kai	ngri Co	ollecti	on, Ha	l aridwar	

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Full instructions as to the mode of classification and a definition of the type of horse required, according to the various headings, should be printed at the commencement of the book. With regard to the form as drawn out above:

The police division in which the classified horses are stabled should be indicated at the top of the page for guidance of the eventual purchaser on mobilisation, as he may need assistance from the constabulary; in fact, for purposes of impressment, it seems almost a necessity that the purchasers should be in close touch with that force before mobilisation commences.

Under the heading 'Artillery,' it should be understood that only horses suitable for gun or wagon teams of Royal Horse and Field Artillery are to be entered, of which a description has been given before. With the paucity and the growing decrease in the number obtainable of this class of horse, it is most important that a column should be set apart for its special classification, otherwise it is almost certain that horses will be allotted to the artillery which are totally unsuitable and likely to interfere with that arm's mobility. It must be remembered that the transport horse need not have the same activity, pace, or breeding as the Horse and Field Artillery animal; and that the transport draught horse is driven, and not ridden as are those of the artillery, so that almost any sort of driving horse of sufficient size, with capability of trotting for considerable distances, can be taken for light draught transport.

The pack animal should be a strong pony or cob from 14 hands to 15 hands, capable of carrying considerable weight, a better type of which cannot be found than the Highland pony that is able to carry a stag.

Before discussing the work of classification further it is as well that we should consider for a moment how the classification returns are eventually to be used, so that we may see why stress has been laid on their being reliable—i.e. that they should only show the number of horses of suitable stamp that can, in all probability, be purchased.

The returns from each county will be sent to the headquarters of the command; the officer who deals with them will be the responsible person for horse mobilisation, under the general officer commanding-in-chief, also for fixing the number of horses of the different classes to be provided by each county, and for allotting them to the 'places of mobilisation' according to the requirements of the units which mobilise there.

Therefore, it is of the first importance that reliance can be placed by that officer on the figures that are presented in the returns to enable him to provide, in the required time, horses suitable for the branches to which they are sent; to put it shortly,

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri unless horses are properly classified the troops will be supplied with inefficient and unsuitable animals.

GENERAL RULES TO BE OBSERVED IN MAKING A CLASSIFICATION

To arrive at this much to be desired correctness of the classification returns the following general rules should be kept in mind by the classifier:

All horses belonging to an owner should as far as possible be seen, so that the number of horses worthy of being entered under the various headings can be arrived at with fair accuracy. There is, of course, no object in entering individual horses, and it is highly desirable that the number of horses set down should allow for casualties in the stable; in no case should the owner be deprived of more than half his horses, except voluntarily, so that his business may be interfered with as little as possible. I may mention that from personal experience in registering thousands of working horses in London and around I have found that, as a rule, it would be impossible to find as many as half a 'stable-ful,' even in picked stables, that would be fit to send on active service abroad, while many stables contain no suitable animals. principal object to keep in view is that only such a number of horses should be entered as are suitable (as defined before) and likely to remain available for one year; this must be left to the expert knowledge and experience of the classifier, and hence the necessity of his being a carefully chosen individual. To make doubly sure of keeping his list up to date, the classifier can leave an addressed and stamped postcard with each owner, requesting that any serious alteration in his stud of horses may be notified.

Each owner should be informed as to the number and class of horses which he will have to provide on mobilisation. Really valuable horses should have their value noted in the column of remarks at the time of inspection, for information of the

purchasers.

With regard to classification of horses and vehicles for the Territorial forces: This can well be done by the adjutants for their own corps with or without assistance of their officers as may be desired; but the work must be done under the guidance and superintendence of the chief classifier (who should be a Deputy Assistant Director of Remounts) appointed to the county or district, so as to avoid overlapping of horses intended for Territorial units and for the expeditionary force.

The form of classification for use with the Territorial force can be drawn up in a somewhat similar though simpler manner to that suggested above for the expeditionary force, with the addition of spaces for 'turns-out.'

Military classification is a work that must be carried out every

year; the best months, with a view to getting the number of cavalry and other riding horses in the most reliable way, would be April, May, and June, as animals are subject to considerable change of quarters towards the end of the hunting season; this time of the year also has the further advantage of providing more daylight, and probably better travelling on the roads. In saying this I am thinking more especially of the requirements of the expeditionary force.

### PURCHASE, COLLECTION, AND TRANSIT

We now come to the other steps which must be taken in time of peace: arrangements for the purchase, collection, and transit of the horses to their various units.

These arrangements are more difficult to make satisfactorily than anything that has yet been considered; for the structure of our machinery is useless unless the horses can arrive at their destination in proper time; the only object with which it is built up is to ensure a rapid mobilisation; were time a matter of no great importance, then there would be no need to make elaborate preparations during the leisure of peace, and we could trust to good fortune (presuming it is known that the number of suitable horses exist) to provide the horses as in days gone by.

The Impressment Act gives the power of 'commandeering' any horses, for which due value will be paid, but it does not lay any onus on the owner to do more than produce the animals, presumably at their stables, for inspection and sale; the registration agreement, on the other hand, wisely contains a clause which makes it incumbent on the registering owners to deliver the horses purchased from them anywhere within a ten-mile radius of their stables. So that, as matters stand under the Impressment Act, the purchasing agents have not only to travel over miles of country to buy the horses, but have then to make the best arrangements they can for their delivery. possibly be done satisfactorily when rapidity of collection is of such very great importance? In towns where animals are close together and in large numbers in one stable it may be done; but in country districts, where horses are comparatively few and far between, it would be quite impossible, and delivery from the owners' stables to the collecting stations does not always end the journey of the horses, as a large number will have to be sent by rail to those 'places of mobilisation' which are located in districts where a sufficient number of horses do not exist; each work of purchase, collection, and delivery to the troops must be done as rapidly as possible.

The question is how to solve the problem of purchasing and collecting the horses in the quickest way possible, in sufficient

time to allow the expeditionary force to leave these shores on the days desired, or in order that the home force, Regular or Territorial, may successfully resist or speedily smash an invader.

### STATUTORY POWERS REQUIRED FOR COLLECTION

I feel confident that there is only one way of doing so, which is: to lay the onus on owners of sending their horses as notified to a given place on a certain date, and this should preferably be before purchase (in other words, for that object) and not after-

wards, thus saving time in both purchase and collection.

Of course the Army Act would have to be altered accordingly. It may be considered that this would be objectionable to the average horse-owner, but there is every reason to believe that the country still contains a majority of patriotic inhabitants who would, apart from compulsion by law, be only too willing to assist the military authorities at a time of great stress and emergency; to these such a law would seem, when they understand the reason for it, to be only fitting and right; to the other sort, rather more than persuasion is imperative.

In any case, if reliance is to be placed on the due collection of animals this additional power is necessary for the proper working of the Impressment Act; our forces must now be mobilised with the same speed as are those of Continental Powers, who all, including Switzerland, recognise the necessity of this mode of purchase and collection when the crucial period of mobilisation arrives; it is difficult to see how we can act differently, though the burden might be lightened by payment of so much per horse for the trouble or expense of delivery to the selected centre of the

district.

#### COLLECTING STATIONS

These centres or 'collecting stations' should be fixed by the responsible officer allotted to the county or area, who, from his thorough knowledge of the geography of his area, its inhabitants and horses, would be able to make adequate arrangements; the duties of this officer, which are multifarious, I propose to deal with later.

From the collecting centre, which would probably be close to a railway station, the horses would be despatched by road or by rail to the 'place of mobilisation' to which they have been told off at headquarters; in some cases, of course, the collecting station can be conveniently fixed at a 'place of mobilisation.' If it were considered desirable to send some horses by road, it could be done by civilian assistance or by military sent from their 'place of mobilisation,' but all this should be arranged in peace time. At each 'place of mobilisation' there should be a small depôt in which the horses can be received; this would be in charge of an officer (specially chosen for his fitness by the officer com
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manding the troops there) whose duty it would be to detail the horses as they arrive to the various units composing that particular command, the units sending their respective parties to take them over when ordered.

To make my meaning clear as to the mode suggested of getting horses to their particular units, a matter of considerable importance, I must beg leave to recapitulate the steps which lead up to it. Orders are sent from the War Office to the general officers commanding-in-chief, detailing the various mobilising in the command, the day on which they must be mobilised, and the 'place of mobilisation.' The officer responsible for the work at headquarters figures out the number of horses required (according to their class) at each of the abovementioned places. After certain steps have been taken, which I have attempted to describe before, he details to the remount officers in charge of counties or areas the numbers of each class of horse that have to be provided and their destination. It must be remembered that these last-named officers will probably on mobilisation be purchasers themselves as well as having a host of other matters to attend to, so that the simpler and less confusing their task is made the better, and the same remark applies to the assistant purchasers; therefore, the final work of apportioning horses to units is preferably done on the spot-namely, at the 'place of mobilisation,' where a sufficient number of riding, artillery, engineer, and transport horses, as the case may be. should arrive for the various units.

#### RAILWAY ARRANGEMENTS TO BE SETTLED IN PEACE TIME

When the location of collecting stations has been fixed, and the number of horses that will have to be despatched from them by rail has been settled, arrangements should be made with the railway companies for their transit to their destinations, so that everything will, as far as possible, be in order when the time of mobilisation arrives. These arrangements are matters affecting the assistant quartermaster-general of the command, and consequently must be referred to him, after due consideration by the remount officer in charge of the county or area, and the officer at command headquarters who is responsible for horse mobilisation.

So far we have considered the steps to be taken in peace time (i.e. census, classification, purchase, collection, and transit), without doing more than suggest, in certain cases, who the agents for carrying out the work should be; this course has been taken so that an idea can be formed of the amount and the particular kind of work that the various steps entail, and hence the special

abilities which should be possessed by the agents who carry them out. It may be concluded, especially with regard to the expeditionary force, that the classifiers and purchasers must have thorough knowledge and judgment of horses; and that, besides the above, the officer who is responsible for the making and the working of the machinery in each county or area should have military training and some idea of organisation.

Looking ahead to eventual mobilisation of the expeditionary force and the rapidity with which it must be carried out, I do not think that more than 1000 horses can properly be controlled by one officer and his subordinates—that is, outside London and the very large towns. Indeed, the work of classifying 1000 horses suitable for the expeditionary force, in addition to superintendence over those required by the Territorial forces in the same area, will be as much as this officer and his staff can well manage, for it must be borne in mind that in order to get 1000 suitable horses classified, stables representing 7000 horses, or possibly considerably more, will have to be visited.

#### REMOUNT STAFF

We will now venture to suggest the means by which the machinery is to be made and set in motion.

There should be a remount officer, or deputy assistant director of remounts, attached to each county, riding, part of a county, or two small counties, that are probably capable of producing 1500 suitable horses in addition to their Territorial requirements.

In some counties, of course, there are many more horses than in others, and it sometimes happens that their Territorial requirements are smaller, but this does not alter the main point that one man (the directing head) and his subordinates can, for the purpose of rapid mobilisation, only control a certain number of animals, spread out as they are over a large area; the remaining horses, if any, will come in later as reserve.

#### DUTIES OF D.A.D.R.

The deputy assistant director of remounts who is appointed to the area as above mentioned should possess the qualities that have been shown to be desirable for classification, purchase, and organisation; he must, of course, live in the county or area, and have his headquarters at a convenient centre; residence in the county is absolutely essential, with a view to acquiring thorough knowledge of the individuals who are likely to be of assistance to him, as well as learning the geography of the county and its supply of horses, and, lastly, to keeping in touch with the civil authority. The main duties of this officer would be:

1. To be responsible for classification over the entire county or area, including the Territorial force.

2. To render complete classification returns to headquarters of the command.

3. To notify owners of the number and class of horse they must bring forward for purchase on mobilisation.

4. To fix centres or collecting stations to which owners are to bring horses.

5. To recommend the mode of delivery to 'places of mobilisation,' by rail or road as the case may be, to headquarters of the command.

6. To make arrangements for purchase and entrainment of horses in the time allowed for mobilisation.

All the above work would be carried out under instructions from headquarters of the command.

Comments on the duties defined above:

(1) Classification.—Classification for the Territorial forces in the county would be done by the adjutants for their own units under guidance of the deputy assistant director of remounts, to whom they would render the classification returns. yeomanry and artillery adjutants will each have a considerable number of horses to classify, and should, from their experience of horses, be capable of producing the stamp of horse to suit their respective regiments or brigades. Some infantry adjutants possess quite as much knowledge of horses as do those of the mounted branches, and are well able to classify the horses they require for their regiments; others, naturally, have had nothing or little to do with horses all their lives. Under these circumstances it would appear to be a matter for the commanding officer of the regiment to settle as to whether his adjutant or another officer of his battalion should do the work of classification; in any case there are not many horses required, and the majority of them are of the transport class.

With regard to classification of horses for the Expeditionary force, it has been already pointed out how necessary it is that animals which are sent overseas should be suitable in every way, and that consequently the work should be carried out by experts in matters pertaining to the horse. The deputy assistant director of remounts appointed to the county or area should do the work himself, assisted, if he thinks it necessary, by one or two local gentlemen chosen by himself who would be good enough to give their services; retired officers living in the district would be the most desirable, or, if they were not forthcoming, an officer specially detailed and carefully chosen for the work from the command. The work should be done with as much despatch as possible, so that the arrangements dependent on it (notifying owners, fixing collecting stations, etc.) can be considered without delay. In towns and other places where horses are close together

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a much larger number can be classified in a day than in country districts, where I do not think that more than fifteen suitable animals, on an average, would be found by one man per diem; that is, fifteen horses which will, in all probability, be available and suitable till the next year's classification takes place. The work will take probably two months or more, according to the number of horses remaining for a reserve after the first requirements of mobilisation have been classified.

(2) Returns.—This would consist of a summary of horses classified for the Territorial forces, and a list of those classified for

the expeditionary force, plus reserve for same.

(3) Notification to Owners.—Owners should be informed by letter of the number and class of horses, according to their entry in the returns, that they will have to provide; also of the place to which they are to be sent, and of any other matters on which

it may be deemed desirable to give instructions.

(4) Collecting Stations.—The country is so intersected by railways that the 'collecting stations' can generally be placed near to or at a convenient spot for entrainment, in addition to being at a centre to which owners can easily send their horses; the collecting station should be thus placed, or be at or within a short march of a 'place of mobilisation'; the matter requires careful consideration by the deputy assistant director of remounts, who should have gained knowledge of the roads and country during his journeys on classification duty. Should the collecting station be at or near the 'place of mobilisation,' units from there will send men to take over their horses forthwith.

The majority of horses will have to be sent by rail; in this case there must be a sufficient staff of men to care for the horses until such time as they can be entrained (which should be done with the least delay possible), and for putting them in the railway trucks; for this work it would probably be most convenient to employ civilians engaged locally, as it would be somewhat difficult to send men from the various units to the collecting stations at a time when railways and the military element would all be working at high pressure; it would, in fact, be simpler, and cause less confusion. This work of looking after the horses might also, to suggest another method, be carried out by men belonging to the yeomanry of the county, if such were not being mobilised at the same time as the regular forces.

(5) Method of Delivery.—This has been dealt with in the remarks above, but the necessary orders must emanate from

headquarters of the command.

(6) Purchase.—It has been urged before that the quickest method of acquiring animals is by compelling owners to send the horses required of them to the collecting stations for purchase, a

system which is adopted by foreign countries. There is on first appearance one drawback to it, namely, that owners might send unsuitable animals and the worst of their stud; but if their horses have been properly classified, in the manner which I have attempted to describe, and if instructions have been given to them in an intelligent way, there should not be a great risk of this happening, especially as the price (a war price) would be rather over than under the value of the average animal; and, supposing a few owners did act in the above-mentioned manner, a purchaser could be sent, when convenient, to buy such horses as he wished at the owners' stables.

Should owners not send their horses to 'collecting stations' for purchase, the only way in which to attempt to do the work would be by increasing the number of purchasers. They would have to travel from one place to another to buy the horses (two or three or four at a time) at their stables; each purchaser would have to be accompanied by a veterinary surgeon, and an orderly with his tools for branding or marking the purchased horses; and a clerk may also be required. Even supposing that the deputy assistant director of remounts of the county or area could find a number of voluntary purchasers in the various districts capable of selecting horses fit and suitable for the troops, and of putting a price on them, it would take a long time, and, what is more serious, it is impossible to estimate precisely how long; and each purchaser would probably have different ideas as to what a suitable horse should be.

If the work were carried out in this manner it would be exceedingly complicated, and it leaves 'the purchasing' in a state of uncertainty as regards the length of time it will take, as well as the efficiency of its accomplishment; but, in a matter of such serious moment as mobilisation, there should be scarcely any room for doubt or uncertainty in any of the steps that lead up to its culmination.

The first method suggested, fhe bringing together of the horses for purchase, would be the most satisfactory and least expensive one to adopt; it would be simpler, less likely to break down, and the horses would be the better purchased 'to stamp,' in that considerably fewer purchasing agents would be necessary; and the number of veterinary surgeons and other personnel would be lessened, yet be of greater value, being, so to speak, under the master's eye.

The deputy assistant director of remounts could in these circumstances do the work efficiently with the help of two or three voluntary purchasers, whom we presume he would have chosen with the greatest care; these purchasers should preferably be retired officers, or, if they were not available, gentlemen of stand-

ing in the county; and, obviously, anyone who had been engaged in classification should also act as a purchaser. I may remark that regulations have been in vogue for some time by which certain pay is given to voluntary purchasers, veterinary surgeons, and clerks who are employed when mobilisation takes place.

The veterinary surgeons should be chosen by the deputy assistant director of remounts, and their names submitted to

headquarters of the command.

Instructions will have been given to the deputy assistant director of remounts from headquarters of the command as to the day of mobilisation on which horses should arrive at their destination; he must make arrangements accordingly for timely purchase, but there is no necessity to hold back purchased horses which are going to the same 'place of mobilisation,' even if some of them are not necessarily required till two or three days later than others; the convenience of the railways, train loads, and so on, must be considered.

If desirable, purchasing can be carried out at two collecting stations on the same day, and it would probably be found necessary to arrange for this from the second day onward; I think that 100 to 120 horses could be efficiently purchased (which includes veterinary examination for workable soundness, branding, and sending off by road or loading in trucks) at each collecting station per diem; if this surmise is correct, all the horses required for mobilisation (not including a reserve) could be bought by the fifth

or sixth day.

There is one question more concerning purchase which consideration: whether (bearing in mind that the horses are purchased under the Impressment Act) it would be well to attach a gentleman of standing in the county, or some civil authority, to the purchaser at each collecting station for the purpose of assisting to fix the price to be paid for the horses, especially in cases of dispute; the Impressment Act says that 'due payment,' which presumably means a fair price, will be made. It would perhaps be desirable that some such civil authority should be so appointed.

With regard to purchasing horses for the Territorial forces: it has been suggested that adjutants of the various units should classify horses and 'turns-out' for their own requirements, under guidance of the deputy assistant director of remounts of the county or area acting under instructions from the headquarters

of the command.

The purchase of horses and 'turns-out' would be conducted by a small committee of the regiment or brigade (artillery), consisting of the adjutant and one or, maybe, two officers; this committee should be given powers similar to those possessed by

the deputy assistant director of remounts of purchasing animals by impressment.

The adjutant would be responsible for:

(1) Making arrangements for collection and purchase under the supervision of and instructions from the deputy assistant director of remounts.

(2) Conveyance of the horses to the 'place of mobilisation'

of the regiment.

He should submit his proposed arrangements to the deputy assistant director of remounts, who would forward the same, when he considers them satisfactory, to the headquarters of the command for sanction.

Having now considered the question of the remount staff, it will be observed that, for the purpose of acquiring about 44,000 horses for the expeditionary force, and 86,000 for the Territorial forces, forty-four deputy assistant directors of remounts should be appointed to counties and areas, in addition to one attached to the staff of the headquarters of the command. At first sight it appears to be a large increase to the Remount Department, but its establishment even then would be small when compared with that which is kept up in Continental countries; the expense entailed would be offset by a reduction in the numbers of registered horses which are automatically disappearing. The provision of horses to the expeditionary force in due time is of such supreme importance to its fighting power that the consideration of a few thousands of pounds should surely not weigh heavily in the balance.

In conclusion, I would lay emphasis on the necessity of, firstly, obtaining full knowledge of the state of our horse supply, and, secondly, of keeping ourselves acquainted with the changes that occur in it from time to time. The only guide that gives any indication of the number of horses in the kingdom is the police census taken in 1910; it includes horses of all ages, sound and unsound, fit and unfit; it gives us little encouragement to believe that, even at the present time, there exists a larger number of horses than is required for mobilisation, and a small reserve for casualties in war. In these circumstances it is quite probable that the time is not very far distant when the State will have to resort to those methods which are adopted on the Continent for ensuring a supply of suitable horses for the Army when engaged in war.

H. N. Schofield, Major, late R.H.A.

# THE 'TRUTH' ABOUT THE FRANCO-GERMAN CRISIS:

## A REPLY TO M. PHILIPPE MILLET

The French Parliament, by an abuse morally if not constitutionally unpardonable, was kept in worse than ignorance of this policy [the Anglo-French agreement of April 1904]. It was not altogether hidden. One side alone was shown: the advantages, but not the price. . . . Why was the French Parliament only told half the truth when it was asked to pronounce upon our accord with England? Why was it not allowed to suspect that this accord had, as a complement and corrective, secret clauses, It is this double game towards Parliament and other Secret Treaties? towards the world which becomes morally an abuse of trust. . . . To-day the accord of 1904 appears in its truth and in its vanity. It was a treaty of friendship with England, recognising our freedom of political action in Morocco, and proclaiming also our intention to respect the integrity of that country. That is what the Public knew and approved. But the Public was ignorant of the facts that at the same time, by other Treaties or by contradictory clauses hidden from it, the partition of Morocco between France and Spain had been prepared—of that Morocco whose integrity we guaranteed. . . . We understand now, among many other motives, why the Franco-German Convention of February 1909 could not work. The situation remained vitiated. There were two irreconcilable French policies in Morocco: that of the public arrangements-that is, the policy of the integrity of Morocco-which was not the true one; and that of the secret arrangements, postulating the Protectorate and the partition of Morocco.-BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT, speaking in the French Senate on February 6, 1912.

M. Philippe Millet, colonial editor of Le Temps, has undertaken to defend Franco-British diplomacy in the Morocco question from the criticisms levelled at it by myself in this Review. Apart from his own contribution to that end, the fountain at which he draws his supplies is, he tells us, a volume entitled Le Mystère d'Agadir, by his colleague on Le Temps, the foreign editor, M. André Tardieu. We are, therefore, to understand that it is the machinery of Le Temps that is turned on to defend that diplomacy. This circumstance will not be without interest to anyone who has followed, with any degree of attention, the fierce polemics which have raged in France round the part played by that machinery in this and other delicate problems of international importance.

A case developed in some forty pages of this Review, and in a book of nearly four hundred pages,2 which is also attacked by M. Millet, cannot be summarised in a couple of paragraphs, especially when a proper appreciation of the elements which compose it involves a study of events covering a considerable number of years and an examination of numerous public documents inherent thereto.

Broadly speaking, what is the case I have presented for study, and which M. Millet describes in his own fashion, forgetting the saying of one of his countrymen that an argument is not met by caricaturing it? It is, that the British national interest has not been well served by the attitude of our diplomacy, either during the recent Morocco crisis or in the course of the events which preceded it. It is, that the British national interest did not lie in the direction of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the benefit of the French military and colonial parties, who wished to swallow the Morocco plum before it was ripe. It is, that in secretly assenting in October 1904 to a secret Convention 3 providing for the partition of Morocco between France and Spain (now actually accomplished) British diplomacy was unfair to the British people and unfair to Germany. Unfair to the British people because it made them, without their knowledge, residuary legatees of an inevitable Franco-German conflict arising out of the French design to ostracise Germany from a voice in the ultimate solution of the Morocco problem. Unfair to Germany because Germany possessed de facto and de jure an indisputable right to be treated as a factor in that problem, having previously co-operated for twenty years in upholding against French intrigue Lord Salisbury's policy of the independence and integrity of Morocco; kept an embassy at the Sultan's Court since 1873; played a prominent part in the first international conference concerning Morocco in 1880, known as the Madrid Convention, which established the open door for the trade of all nations; concluded a commercial treaty with Morocco; cordially supported Lord Salisbury's envoy to Fez, whose mission was upset by French manœuvres; developed between 1880 and 1904 considerable and

<sup>1</sup> November 1911 and February 1912.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Morocco in Diplomacy. (Smith, Elder & Co.)

<sup>3</sup> See in above, Appendix VI.

<sup>4</sup> Concluded by the German representative at Fez in 1890. The Treaty was communicated by the German Government to the signatory Powers of the Madrid Convention, accomparied by the intimation that Germany would only ratify it subject to their approval. See Morocco in Diplomacy for text of Treaty, Appendix II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> C. 6821 and C. 6815, Times, July 18, 22, August 13, 1892. Also Times, July 19, 1892. ' . . . Count Tattenbach, the German Minister, has been especially prominent in supporting the British attitude to obtain rights which would benefit all European nations.'

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chepnai and eGangotri growing trade and industrial interests in Morocco; created consular offices, banks, post-offices, and sank important sums in mineral enterprise in Morocco and in steamship services with Morocco.

My case is, further, that the German Emperor's visit to Tangier in March 1905 was the direct outcome of knowledge of the secret Convention leaking out, aggravated by M. Delcassé's discourteous action in failing officially to notify to the German Government the precedent Anglo-French agreement. My case is, that the violent campaign urged in the British Press at that time against Germany, which did so much to embitter Anglo-German relations and to aggravate the naval problem, was not justified, and would not have received public support had the nation been aware of the character of the secret Convention and its pendant, the secret articles of the Anglo-French agreement. It is, that having, as the upshot of the German Emperor's visit, participated in a second international conference on Moroccan affairs (Algeciras) in 1906, and having put its signature at the bottom of a treaty proclaiming the independence and integrity of Morocco, and postulating that the stipulations of the Act should prevail over any provisions contrary to their tenor which might be contained in precedent arrangements negotiated, the British Government's pledge of 'diplomatic support' to France under the April 1904 agreement was thereby modified. It is that thenceforth the path lay open for British diplomacy to exercise a salutary influence as between France and Germany, and to lean rather towards those elements in France which desired to come to terms with Germany as to the future, than towards the elements which wished to rush matters by treading on Germany's toes. My case is, that British diplomacy took the latter course, and encouraged France in the belief that every fresh step taken by the military and colonial parties in the process of absorbing Morocco without coming to an understanding with Germany had our approval. My case is, that we pursued that policy to the very end, and when Spain imitated the French, fearing to lose her share of the spoil under the secret Convention, and flung 50,000 troops into Morocco, we displayed equal tolerance; but that the moment Germany sent her little cockle-shell of a gunboat with its complement of 125 men to anchor off a Moroccan port, we accused her of violating the Algeciras Act and of acting like an international highwayman; that newspapers, credibly supposed to be inspired by the Foreign Office, compared Germany to Dick Turpin, and accused the German Government of wilfully disturbing international peace. My case is, that the attitude of British diplomacy at that time was marked by an ill-will and unjustifiable suspicion towards Germany which culminated in an openly provocative speech delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but dictated by the Foreign Secretary—the more provocative by the manner of its interpretation in The Times the next morning, which gave a lead to all the anti-German Press in France and England. My case is, that from first to last the withholding from the British and French public of all knowledge of the secret partition Convention of 1904 has (a) in the case of Great Britain prejudiced, to the detriment of friendly relations between England and Germany, and, consequently, as I contend, of the British national interest, the British public view of German action; (b) in the case of France enabled the military and colonial parties to push successive French Cabinets into a policy of precipitate absorption of Morocco at the risk of a rupture with Germany, and misled the French public into supporting that policy in the belief that France was acquiring the whole of Morocco, whereas France was already cut off by the secret partition Convention from the whole of the Mediterranean littoral of Morocco and from a considerable portion of the North Atlantic littoral. My conclusion is, that while it may be too soon to judge whether the acquisition by France of Morocco, under such circumstances, sufficiently compensates her for the risks she has already run, and for the expenses she has already incurred, and will continue for many years to incur, both in Morocco and at home; it is not too soon to realise that the results for us are uniformly bad,6 and might have been disastrous but for the reaction which set in this winter, gathered force in the spring, and led to the Anglo-German 'conversations' now proceeding.

Such is the case I presented, and it is hardly necessary to remark that M. Millet makes no attempt to meet it. He first caricatures, then eludes it. Of the international history of Morocco prior to 1904, not a word. Of Germany's treaty and other rights and interests in Morocco which gave her the clearest possible justification—and, indeed, duty, as we should not be slow to recognise had the positions been reversed—to be consulted, not a word. Of the secret treaties, not a word. And so on. far as I am able to analyse his contribution, it consists-personal abuse of myself aside-of an attempt to prove that Germany's 'main reason' in sending the Panther to Agadir was the outcome of her disappointment at the failure of certain Franco-German financial combinations connected with the construction of public works in Morocco arising out of the Franco-German arrangement of February 1909. To this he adds the allegation that the German Government played a double-shuffle over the question of the 'open door,' which was manfully resisted by France, mainly in the interest of Great Britain. In this connexion M. Millet makes two admissions which may be noted. First that, as regards the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Except in so far as German intervention has secured the permanent 'open door' for trade in Morocco. See further on.

combinations aforesaid, 'the French Government was responsible for a number of those failures,' and that 'it is not surprising that the Germans should have thought that they were being cheated.' In parenthesis one notes that 'Mr. E. D. Morel's French friends' (so he has some after all it would seem!) were instrumental in bringing one such failure about.7 Secondly, that France had no mandate under the Algeciras Act to establish 'order inside Morocco.' In other words, she had no mandate under that Act to establish a Protectorate over Morocco. Precisely, and the fact that she sought to effect one, without a mandate, and was backed by the British Foreign Office in so doing, has been the source of all the recent trouble. Passing to the incidents of last July, M. Millet confines himself in the main to repeating statements which have already been repudiated by his Government, and to reproducing extracts from Pan-German papers revealing the ambitions of their writers; he omits, of course, to state that it was just because the German Government did not endorse those ambitions that it drew down upon itself the wrath of the German Chauvinists. The remaining three pages of the paper consist of statements purporting to represent the German Government's bad faith in the ensuing September and October. M. Millet concludes with a finely involved phrase in which he praises the conduct of the Foreign Office, contrasting it with the 'peace-crank, open-air preachers who are trying to ruin England for the benefit of humanity.'

I am not, therefore, called upon to refute any onslaught upon the case I have presented in this Review, but to deal with such arguments and statements in M. Millet's paper as appear in themselves worthy of examination. I will begin in the reverse order. M. Millet says that when the German Foreign Secretary was asked in September last to 'assent to a written definition of the regime which was to be set up in Morocco,' he 'with characteristic rapidity' invented a series of proposals tending to restrict the French powers under a Protectorate, and to secure special economic advantages for Germany in 'every enterprise.' M. Millet produces no documentary evidence in support of these statements. They are put forward on the strength of his mere ipse dixitor on that of his colleague M. André Tardieu. Such being the case I must decline to discuss them. I can only compete in the field of accessible public documents. I know of none produced hitherto which enable these statements to be checked or controlled. The same applies to what M. Millet describes as the German Foreign Secretary's attitude in October as regards

<sup>7</sup> My French friends protested against it, because those who, on the French side, promoted it, stipulated a heavy indemnity to be paid to a concessionnaire company in the French Congo; a proposal which they, rightly in my opinion, regarded as little short of a public scandal.

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the French right of pre-emption over the Belgian Congo—a right originally secured, it may be remarked in passing, behind the back of the other Powers which co-operated in recognising King Leopold's sovereignty over the Congo.<sup>8</sup> M. Millet gives no public document harmonising with his statement. We have his word for it. It is not sufficient for me.

In so far as M. Millet's remarks on the events of last July contain anything new they are, again, wholly unsupported by evidence. Thus he declares that on the 13th of July the German Foreign Secretary, asked 'what sort of a régime Germany was prepared to recognise in Morocco,' replied that Germany 'would simply grant France "sufficient authority to preserve Morocco from anarchy." This passage purports to be a quotation. Whence is it derived? No information is vouchsafed. not permissible to make such statements unless one is prepared to give one's authority. Moreover, what M. Millet says at this point in his discourse does not coincide with what he says at another. In another place he prefaces his statement that the German Government endeavoured in September to limit the powers it had previously recognised in July by these words: 'Now it is true enough that Herr von Kiderlen expressed his willingness to let France be master of Morocco.' In point of fact we have, of course, the French Foreign Minister's own statement in the Chamber as to what passed in July:

People have asked why territorial concessions were thus spoken of. Why had these questions been examined? I have already told you, it is because the first words which the German Foreign Minister had pronounced had consisted in saying: 'Morocco you shall have it.' He had even added, 'Establish therein your Protectorate, draw up yourselves the arrangement which shall specify the details.' 9

That disposes of the matter.

M. Millet is not more happy when he refers to the German 'demands' in the French Congo. There were, as the French Minister has shown, no 'demands' in the ordinary sense that word possesses in English, but a suggestion typifying the opening stages of most bargaining bouts. 'Voici ce que nous demandons,' 'o had said the German Foreign Secretary. Demander is not to demand, but to ask. Naturally, M. Millet omits any reference to the counterbalancing offers of German territory which marked the first indication of the particular portion of the French Congo upon which Germany had set her gaze. It is all of a piece—the determination to poison British public opinion. When M. Millet does happen to give a quotation from an accessible document he not only misquotes, but he actually puts his misquotation in italics. Thus he places the following words into the mouth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Cattier and others. <sup>9</sup> Journal Officiel, December 14, 1911. <sup>10</sup> Idem.

of the German Ambassador when speaking to Sir Edward Grey, as reported to the Budget Commission of the Reichstag by the German Foreign Secretary, and he italicises the last sentence:

If our proposals on the Congo are, as you say, unacceptable [said the Ambassador], this proves that France attaches less importance than is generally supposed to the free exercise in Morocco of pretensions which have never been made the object of an international decision. She must then agree, as well, that a foreign warship may enter a Moroccan harbour.

The true version is very different, destroying the sting in the tail, with its future menace:

If, as Sir E. Grey assumed, our proposals in other directions were considered unacceptable, this merely showed that France appeared to attach less importance than might have been expected to a free exercise of those pretensions of hers which had not obtained international recognition. The presence of a foreign warship in a Moorish port had now to be taken into account.<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, the one feature in M. Millet's Ab uno disce omnes. elaboration of 'The Truth' really deserving of note is the contention he advances as to the 'main reason' for the despatch of the Panther to Agadir, to which I have already alluded without dissecting it, and with which is bracketed the charge against Germany of hypocrisy with regard to the 'open door.' M. Millet does not seem to appreciate how his contention damages the British official case which he endeavours to defend. If the 'main reason' of Germany's action was the feeling that she was 'being cheated' out of the economic advantages she hoped to obtain through her agreement with France in February 1909, the bottom is knocked out of the British official explanation of the events of July leading up to the Lloyd George exordium, as given in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Grey on the 27th of November last. The Lloyd George speech, which was what set the heather on fire, was defended on the ground that the Foreign Office had reason to fear that Germany was meditating forcing a solution of the Morocco question in the sense of a tripartite partition between herself, France and Spain, from which Britain was to be excluded. True, nothing remained of that defence even before M. Millet's unwitting contribution to its post-destruction; for not only has the German Government denied the suggestion-which, no doubt, counts for nothing in the eyes of some people—but the French Government has denied it.12 and the Spanish Government also—i.e. if we assume, as I think we may, that The Times Madrid despatch of the 24th of

<sup>11</sup> Cd. 5992, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Journal Officiel, December 14, 1911.

May last is by way of being an inspired Spanish communiqué. <sup>13</sup> Moreover, not a scintilla of evidence has ever been adduced in support of the allegation.

That Germany was extremely irritated at 'being cheated'—as M. Millet puts it—is obvious from the speeches of the German Foreign Secretary. But only those who have wilfully blinded themselves by prejudice can retain any doubt that the genesis of German action lay in the circumstance that German statesmen were faced with a second concerted attempt on the part of France, backed by the British Foreign Office, to seize Morocco without giving Germany any compensation, without making any provisions for the 'open door,' without taking into account the de facto and de jure rights of Germany in the matter.

To present a superficially plausible indictment of German bad faith as regards the 'open door' in connexion with the Franco-German agreement of February 1909, M. Millet is driven to characteristic expedients. In describing the arrangement in question he conveniently omits all reference to the pivot upon which it revolved—viz. the renewed pledge by France of firm attachment 'to the maintenance of the independence and integrity of the Shereefian Empire.' 14 He then proceeds to confuse under the term 'economic' (a) the 'open door' for trade, and (b) the financial combinations of international groups for the construction of public works. These are totally different things, of course. One interests British commerce very materially; the other may not interest it at all. The general interests of trade lie outside financial combinations between banking establishments for loans, railway or harbour works. If there is one thing clear in this controversy, into which so much deliberate misrepresentation has been introduced, it is that Germany has pursued unflinchingly the 'open door' for trade in Morocco from the very first. She has never wavered. We have been lukewarm. And her Chambers of Commerce are already demanding that the 'open door' shall be reintroduced into the Congo territories ceded to her by France, which for the last twelve years have been the happy hunting-ground of French rubber monopolists. Germany has obtained from France in Morocco what the British Government

on the 12th of July (1911).

14 'The Government of the French Republic, fully attached to the maintenance of the independence and integrity of the Shereefian Empire,' etc. For full text see Appendix XIV., Morocco in Diplomacy.

at Agadir, which was welcomed with undisguised satisfaction at Madrid as a proof that others besides Spain felt that the changed situation required energetic action. This satisfaction was doomed to be somewhat diminished by the subsequent refusal of both Berlin and Paris to admit Spain as a third party to their deliberations.' Of course, the German Government denied that Germany had any such intention at once—viz. on the 4th of July and again on the 12th of July (1911).

failed to obtain in 1904—a permanent 'open door' for international trade. Lord Lansdowne stipulated the non-imposition of differential tariffs for thirty years only: the same period which, after the greatest difficulties, Lord Salisbury succeeded in wresting from France in the 1898 agreement affecting West Africa. Germany has wiped off the differential tariff altogether from Morocco. In so doing she has placed British trade interests under a deep obligation, and every British Chamber of Commerce knows it. It is not among commercial men, who used to be given some credit for common sense, that you will find this clamour against Germany over everything in general and

particular.

Now as to the financial combinations between international groups for the construction of public works in Morocco—a very small affair compared with the great trade interest. It is possible, it is even probable, that Germany tried her hardest to secure for her financiers as large a share as possible in these enterprises. She already held 20 per cent. of the 1910 loan, compared with France's 40 per cent. and Britain's 15 per cent. I should be quite prepared to admit that she had been grasping. It is, perhaps, not an uncommon characteristic among financiers of It would strengthen the argument that, all every nation. through, Germany's interest in Morocco was economic, not territorial, and that her well-known official pursuit of 'business' overseas-imposed upon her by the necessities of her own internal position—was the guiding motive which impelled her as a matter of national policy not to allow another great slice of African territory, potentially valuable and where she had long connexions and treaty rights, to pass into the hands of a Power which converts every dependency it acquires into a privileged reserve for French trade and French contractors. But when M. Millet, in his clumsy attempt to square the circle of his own prejudices, denounces the alleged (alleged because here again no documentary proof is adduced) efforts of the German Government to secure the construction of all railways on behalf of the Société marocaine des travaux publics, as a demand 'in favour of one privileged Franco-German company only, to the exclusion of all foreign, and more especially English, interests,' he is laughing in his sleeve at a guileless British public whom he thinks by this allegation to rub on the raw. No one knows better than M. Millet, since his own paper, Le Temps, published the details in its issue of the 11th of January 1912, that France holds threesixths of the capital of this concern, Germany two-sixths, Britain and Spain one-sixth between them. Consequently all contracts for railway construction secured by the Société marocaine would have benefited British capitalists in accordance with the

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proportion of the total capital held by them. If Germany, as M. Millet argues, was oblivious of the Algerias Act—which France was busily trampling under foot—in making this request (assuming that she did), how can M. Millet argue that France was observing the Act by holding the majority of the capital herself? It requires a certain effort of the imagination, moreover, to suppose the French Government to have been anxious to contract-out of an arrangement so favourable to French financiers, in order to please—as M. Millet tells us—its dear English friends. The treatment meted out to British interests in the Franco-British Abyssinian Railway provides a somewhat satirical illustration of M. Millet's contention, in itself sufficiently humorous when one recalls the treatment of British economic interests of every kind in Madagascar, in Tunis, and elsewhere!

But if we wish to appreciate the full beauty of the controversial red-herring drawn across the trail by M. Millet and his colleague M. André Tardieu, we have only to contrast the terms of the Franco-German Convention of November 1911 15 with the Anglo-French agreement of April 1904,16 and still more with the secret Franco-Spanish Convention of October 1904,17 which received the blessing of the British Foreign Office. To what do we owe that British financial interests are represented in the future construction of public works in Morocco at all? German intervention, and to German intervention alone! It is easy to prove that from the texts. I have already shown that in the matter of the 'open door' for general trade our Foreign Office only secured freedom from differential tariffs for thirty years, whereas Germany has secured that relief for all time. In the matter of public works construction the agreement of 1904 is dumb. Not so the Franco-Spanish secret partition Convention. There is no dumbness about that. It literally shouts at you. Article 10 of that document provides that all schemes for public works, railways, etc., mineral development, and 'economic undertakings in general' in the French and Spanish spheresi.e. in the whole of Morocco- 'shall be executed' by French and Spanish enterprise respectively! So little did the Foreign Office care for British enterprise that it handed over Morocco lock, stock, and barrel to a Franco-Spanish economic monopoly for ever! Now turn to the Franco-German Convention of November 1911. The minutest safeguards are taken therein that there shall be international participation in all such works. There must be open tenders for all contracts for construction, and even for the supply of material, issued under such conditions and circumstances as shall not place the subjects of any one Power

<sup>15</sup> Appendix XVII., op. cit. 16 Appendix III., idem. 17 Appendix VI., idem.

in a position of inferiority. All nations must be free to participate in the actual working of public undertakings. Industrial and mining enterprises must be free to lay down light lines of railway from their centres of activity to the coast ports. There are to be no export duties on iron ore, and so on. Of course, Germany has benefited herself. Of course, she has had her own economic interests primarily in view. But the point is that in benefiting herself she has benefited the world, and the greatest trading nation in the world, Britain. And it is this unanswerable fact which crowns the fatuousness of the diplomatic and journalistic spite exhibited towards Germany throughout the whole of this miserable business. M. Millet talks about the 'lesson of the future.' That is the lesson of the future. For my part I am well content to point it out, even if I have the misfortune to appear a 'kind of German Siegfried' in the eyes of the spokesmen of

Le Temps. One last reflection, of an egotistical nature, which is forced upon me by the personal character of the attack delivered by M. Millet. He says I am known for my 'unfriendliness to France' ever since I 'ruthlessly attacked' the French Congo, for which he and M. Tardieu have so tender a solicitude. It is quite true that I attacked the administration of the French Congo when financial and journalistic wire-pullers in Paris got rid of that magnificent administrator De Brazza, and introduced into the country the Leopoldian system with all its abuses, handing over to forty-four concessionnaire companies the land, the products, the labour, and the very bodies of 7,000,000 negroes. And was I right or wrong? Events have shown that my case was immeasurably understated. Let the De Brazza mission of inquiry, the letters published in Le Temps itself (then in other hands), from its special commissioner M. Félicien Challaye, the books of Auguste Chevalier 18 and Challaye,19 the speeches of Anatole France and Pierre Mille, the ghastly official reports sent home in dozens by French official 'inspectors' on the spot, the revelations before the courts, the huge volume of evidence which is publicly accessible, including the detailed condemnation of the whole system officially placed before the French Legislature in the Colonial budgetary reports—let these speak. I am no enemy of France. My book dealing with French West Africa 20 was translated by the chief of staff of the African department of the French Colonial Office, and appeared serially in the Official

<sup>18</sup> Mission Chari-Lac Tchad (Challamel, 1908).

<sup>19</sup> Le Congo français; also Les deux Congo, by Challaye and Pierre Mille (Cahiers de la Quinzaine).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Affairs of West Africa (Heinemann): French edition, Problèmes de l'Ouest Africain (Challamel).

Journal of that Department, precisely because it was the first effort made by a foreigner to do something like justice to the great work France has accomplished in West Africa, where, happily, a fine staff and honest merchants have been able, in combination, to keep out the blood-sucking concessionnaire. I am no enemy of France, although I do not believe it is a British national interest that we should be tied to the cartwheels of, and our policy compromised by, the military and colonial parties in France. But I do not consider it to be in the interests either of the British or French peoples that they should be worked up into blind prejudice of Germany regardless of the merits or demerits of the specific issue which may be at stake, on the strength of 'cooked' information. I do not believe in 'inevitable' wars, and I use my limited intelligence in testifying to these views and in trying to make other people share them.

E. D. MOREL.

## POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY IN CHINA

LIKE political upheavals in other ages and other lands, the Chinese revolution has been the outcome of the hopes and dreams of impetuous and indomitable youth. Herein lies one of its main sources of strength, but herein also lies a very grave danger. Young China to-day looks to Europe and to America for sympathy. Let her have it in full measure. Only let us remind her that the work she has so boldly, and perhaps light-heartedly, undertaken is not only the affair of China, not only the affair of Asia, but that the whole world stands to gain or lose according as the Chinese people prove themselves worthy or unworthy to carry out the stupendous task to which they have set their hands.

The grave peril lies, of course, in the tendency of the Chinese 'Progressives'—as of all hot-headed reformers, whether in China or in England—to break with the traditions of past ages, and to despise what is old not because it is bad, but because it is out of harmony with the latest political shibboleth. Those of us who believe in the fundamental soundness of the character of the Chinese people, and are aware of the high dignity and value of a large part of their inherited civilisation and culture, are awaiting with deep anxiety an answer to this question: Is the New China

about to cast herself adrift from the Old?

But surely, many a Western observer may exclaim, the matter is settled already! Surely the abolition of the monarchy is in itself a proof that the Chinese have definitely broken with tradition! Was not the Emperor a sacred being who represented an unbroken political continuity of thousands of years, and who ruled by divine right? Was not loyalty to the sovereign part of

the Chinese religion?

These questions cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. Reverence for tradition has always been a prominent Chinese characteristic in respect of both ethics and politics. We must beware of assuming too hastily that the exhortations of a few frock-coated revolutionaries have been sufficient to expel this reverence for tradition from Chinese hearts and minds; yet we are obliged to admit that the national aspirations are being

directed towards a new set of ideals which in some respects are scarcely consistent with the ideals aimed at (if rarely attained)

in the past.

The Chinese doctrine of loyalty cannot be properly understood until we have formed a clear conception of the traditional theory concerning the nature of Political Sovereignty. The political edifice, no less than the social, is built on the Confucian and pre-Confucian foundation of filial piety. The Emperor is father of his people; the whole population of the empire forms one vast family, of which the Emperor is the head. As a son owes obedience and reverence to his parent, so does the subject owe reverence and obedience to his sovereign.

The Chinese annals are full of records of devoted sons and loval subjects, but it is the twelfth century B.C. that furnishes us with the classical example of a union of the virtues of filial piety and political loyalty in the character of a single hero. Po-I was the eldest son of a Chinese tributary prince. He had two younger brothers, of whom one was named Shu-Ch'i. For some unexplained reason the prince nominated his second son, Shu-Ch'i, as his successor, but Shu-Ch'i was unwilling to accept a position which would make him superior to his elder brother, and thereby cause an infringement of the orthodox rules which declare that the younger brother must be subordinate to the elder. the prince died, therefore, Shu-Ch'i fled to the wilds, in order to escape the succession. But the elder brother, Po-I, was as keenly alive to the sanctity of the filial relationship as Shu-Ch'i had been to that of the fraternal; and, on the ground that he could not act in opposition to his father's wishes, also declined the princely dignity. So he joined Shu-Ch'i in the wilds, and the princedom passed to the third brother, who apparently was less scrupulous. Po-I and Shu-Ch'i, having already suffered in the cause of fraternal and filial duty, subsequently proved themselves to be the champions of the principle of loyalty to their sovereign; for when the imperial sceptre passed to a new dynasty they refused to transfer their allegiance from the defeated house of Shang to the victorious house of Chou, and spent the remnant of their lives among the inhospitable mountains of what is now southern Shansi, where at last they died of cold and starvation. They are mentioned with high praise by Confucius; and Mencius declared of Po-I that he 'never allowed his eyes to look upon an evil sight or his ears to listen to an evil sound. . . . when men hear of the spotless reputation of Po-I, the boor becomes a gentleman and the moral coward becomes resolute in virtue.' All good Confucianists from that day to this have spoken of Po-I with unstinted praise; and a Confucian writer of our own age, whose tolerant interest in religious and ethical subjects carries him beyond the range of Confucian thought, refers to him as a Chinese Buddha.

Loyalty then is unquestionably an element of character which the Chinese hold in high honour. The domestic virtues have their political correlative. What filial piety is in the home, loyalty is in the State; and filial piety, as everyone knows, is the corner-stone of Chinese ethics. But there is this important difference between the position of an emperor and the position of a father of a family. The father rules by natural right, and in no circumstances can he be disowned or forcibly dispossessed by his son; the Emperor rules not by any natural or inalienable right, but solely by virtue of the T'ien-ming-God's Decreewhich may be withdrawn from him by the divine power that bestowed it. The success or failure of a revolutionary movement is the only certain test of the sovereign's continued right to rule. If a threatened dynasty is overthrown, no further evidence of its loss of the T'ien-ming is required; if on the contrary it succeeds in crushing its enemies, this is accepted as sufficient proof that

the T'ien-ming has not yet been withdrawn.

Thus we find that the Chinese theory of kingship is not identical with that taught by the English seventeenth-century writers of the school of Sir Robert Filmer. The view set forth in such works as the Patriarcha was to the effect that no resistance to the will of the monarch can be justified, for the king is free from all human control and possesses an inalienable divine right to rule. The Chinese theory admits the monarch's absolute right to rule, so long as the right remains divine, but it does not debar the people whom he governs from putting the divineness of his right to the supreme test of the ordeal of battle. In practice it comes to this, that the Chinese believe not exactly in the Emperor's divine right to rule, but in his divine right to rule well. In view of this theory we need not be surprised to find not only that dynastic changes have been of frequent occurrence in China's history, but also that the imperial sceptre has not always passed from hand to hand in strict accordance with the rules of direct The Emperor, as we know from recent examples, nominates his own successor, and may cancel a nomination already made; though in theory the nomination is made not by the reigning sovereign as such, but by God, who speaks or acts through the sovereign. In the 'Golden Age' of Chinese history emperors are said to have been so single-minded in their devotion to the interests of their subjects that they were willing to ignore the claims of their own families, and sought only to confer the imperial heritage on the man who had proved himself the worthiest The classic examples of this are furnished by the Emperor Yao (2357-2258 B.C.), who selected as his successor a man of the people named Shun, and by Shun himself, who made a similar selection of the flood-queller Yü. But we know from Mencius that in neither of these cases was the sovereignty really conferred by the Emperor in virtue of his own despotic authority. Mencius was asked whether it was the case that Yao passed the sceptre to Shun. 'No,' said the philosopher; 'such a power is not vested in the sovereign.' Then how did Shun come to possess the throne? 'Heaven bestowed it upon him,' replied Mencius.

In the four thousand years and more that have elapsed since the days of Yü, over a score of dynasties have in their turn received and lost the Divine Decree. The Shu Ching—the Chinese historical classic—gives us full accounts of the events which led to the fall of the successive dynasties of Hsia (1766 B.C.) and Shang (1122 B.C.). In both cases we find that the leader of the successful rebellion lays stress on the fact that the T'ien-ming has been forfeited by the dynasty of the defeated Emperor, and that he, the successful rebel, has been but an instrument in the hands of God. Thus the rebel becomes Emperor by right of the Divine Decree, and it remains with his descendants until by their misdeeds they provoke Heaven into bestowing it upon another house.

The teachings of the sages of China are in full accordance with the view that the sovereign must rule well or not at all. Confucius (551-479 B.C.) spent the greater part of his life in trying to instruct negligent princes in the art of government, and we know from a well-known anecdote that he regarded a bad government as 'worse than a tiger.' We are told that when one of his disciples asked Confucius for a definition of good statecraft, he replied that a wise ruler is one who provides his subjects with the means of subsistence, protects the State against its enemies, and strives to deserve the confidence of all his people. And the most important of these three aims, said Confucius, is the last: for without the confidence of the people no government can be maintained. If the prince's commands are just and good, let the people obey them, said Confucius, in reply to a question put by a reigning duke; but if subjects render slavish obedience to the unjust commands of a bad ruler, it is not the ruler only, but his sycophantic subjects themselves, who will be answerable for the consequent ruin of the State. far from counselling perpetual docility on the part of the governed, Confucius clearly indicates that circumstances may arise which make opposition justifiable. The minister, he says, should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Whether these emperors were historical personages or not does not affect the present question. The important point is that the theory exemplified, or supposed to have been exemplified, by these shadowy rulers meets with the approval of Chinese political orthodoxy.

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not fawn upon the ruler of whose actions he disapproves: let him show his disapproval openly.

Mencius, the 'Second Sage' of China (372-289 B.C.), is far more outspoken than Confucius in his denunciation of bad rulers, There was no sycophancy in the words which he uttered during an interview with King Hsüan of the State of Ch'i. 'When the prince treats his ministers with respect, as though they were his own hands and feet, they in their turn look up to him as the source from which they derive nourishment; when he treats them like his dogs and horses, they regard him as no more worthy of reverence than one of their fellow-subjects; when he treats them as though they were dirt to be trodden on, they retaliate by regarding him as a robber and a foe.' It is interesting to learn that this passage in Mencius so irritated the first sovereign of the Ming dynasty (1368-1398 A.D.) that he caused the 'spirittablet' of the sage to be removed from the Confucian Temple, to which it had been elevated about three centuries earlier; but the remonstrances of the scholars of the Empire soon compelled the Emperor to revoke his decree, and the tablet of Mencius was restored to its place of honour, from which it was never subsequently degraded. It is no matter for surprise that the people have reverenced the 'Second Sage,' for he it was who has come nearest in China to the enunciation of the somewhat doubtful principle Vox populi vox Dei. We have already seen that according to Mencius's view it was not Yao who of his own free will bestowed the imperial power on Shun, but God, who through Yao made known his divine wishes. In the same passage we read as follows: 'The Son of Heaven (the Emperor) can present his chosen successor to God, but he cannot compel God to recognise his nominee. Yao presented Shun to Heaven, and Heaven signified its acceptance of him. He presented Shun to the people, and the people, too, accepted him. He was the chosen of God and the chosen of the people: so he reigned.' Here we have the clear statement of a theory which closely resembles that which to this day underlies the coronation-rites of the sovereigns of Great Britain. The King rules both 'by the grace of God' and by the will of the people to whom he is formally presented.

It was unmistakably the view of Mencius that a bad ruler may be put to death by the subjects whom he has misgoverned. King Hsüan was once discussing with him the successful rebellions against the last sovereigns of the Hsia and Shang dynasties, and, with reference to the slaying of the infamous King Chou (1122 B.C.), asked whether it was allowable for a minister to put his sovereign to death. Mencius, in his reply, observed that the man who outrages every principle of virtue and good conduct is rightly treated as a mere robber and villain. 'I have heard of

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the killing of a robber and a villain named Chou; I have not heard about the killing of a king.' That is to say, Chou by his rascality had already forfeited all the rights and privileges of kingship before he was actually put to death.

On another occasion Mencius was questioned about the duties of ministers and royal relatives. 'If the sovereign rules badly,' he said, 'they should reprove him; if he persists again and again in disregarding their advice, they should dethrone him.' The prince for whose edification the philosopher uttered these daring sentiments looked grave. 'I pray your Majesty not to take offence,' said Mencius. 'You asked me for my candid opinion,

and I have told you what it is.'

Several other passages of similar purport might be cited from Mencius, but two more will suffice. 'Let us suppose,' said the sage, 'that a man who is about to proceed on a long journey entrusts the care of his wife and family to a friend. On his return he finds that the faithless friend has allowed his wife and children to suffer from cold and hunger. What should he do with such a friend?' 'He should treat him thenceforth as a stranger,' replied King Hsüan. 'And suppose,' continued Mencius, 'that your Majesty had a minister who was utterly unable to control his subordinates: how would you deal with such a one?' 'I should dismiss him from my service,' said the King. 'And if throughout all your realm there is no good government, what is to be done then?' The embarrassed King, we are told, 'looked this way and that, and changed the subject.'

The last of Mencius's teachings on kingship to which we shall refer is perhaps the most remarkable of them all. 'The most important element in a State,' he says emphatically, 'is the people; next come the altars of the national gods; least in import-

ance is the king.'

These citations from the revered classics should be sufficient to prove that the people of China are not necessarily cutting themselves adrift from the traditions of ages and the teachings of their philosophers when they rise in their might to overthrow an in-For it cannot be denied that China has competent dynasty. known little prosperity under the later rulers of the Manchu line, and when the revolutionary leaders declared that the reigning house had forfeited the T'ien-ming we must admit that they had ample justification for their belief that such was the case. But many Western friends of China, while fully recognising the right of the people to remove the Manchus, entertain very grave doubts as to the wisdom of abolishing the monarchy altogether and the establishment of a Republican Government in its stead. The T'ien-ming has always passed from dynasty to dynasty, never

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from dynasty to people. From the remotest days of which we have record, the Chinese system of government has been monarchic. If the revolutionaries can break with tradition to the extent of abolishing the imperial dignity, what guarantee have we that they will not break with tradition in every other respect as well, and so destroy the foundations on which the whole edifice of China's social, political, and religious life has rested through all the centuries of her known history?

That there are dangerous rocks lying ahead of the ship of the Chinese State is too obvious to need emphasis: yet it would be rash and unfair to assume that the establishment of a Republic necessarily signalises a break in the continuity of Chinese political There is in the nature of things no reason why the Divine Decree should be regarded as necessarily entrusted by Heaven to one man rather than to the people themselves or their chosen representatives. We have already seen that a Chinese Emperor is in theory presented to and accepted by the people; and indeed it may be said that his acceptance by the people is the surest indication that he is the true possessor of the Divine Decree. But if the sovereign power rests ultimately upon, or is inseparable from, the people's will, what is to prevent the people from bestowing that power upon delegates directly chosen from and by themselves? There is, indeed, no precedent for this course, for the so-called Republic of 841-828 B.C. cannot be regarded as such; but the mere absence of a true precedent will not, and should not, debar the Chinese people from adopting a system of government which they honestly believe to be adapted to the changed conditions of Chinese life, and need not necessarily imply more than a formal break with constitutional tradition.

Whether the Chinese people—as distinct from a few foreign-educated reformers—do, as a matter of fact, honestly believe that a Republican Government is adapted to the needs of the country, is a very different question. It certainly has not been proved that 'the whole nation is now inclined towards a Republic'—in spite of the admission to that effect contained in the imperial Edict of abdication. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that the overwhelming majority of the people of China have not the slightest idea what a Republic means, and how their lives and fortunes will be affected by its establishment, and therefore hold no strong opinions concerning the advantages or disadvantages of Republican government.

It cannot be denied, however, that the social system under which the Chinese people have lived for untold ages has in some ways made them more fit for self-government than any other people in the world. It would be well if Europeans—and especially Englishmen—would try to rid themselves of the

obsolete notion that every Oriental race, as such, is only fit for a despotic form of government. Perhaps only those who have lived in the interior of China and know something of the organisation of family and village, township and clan, are able to realise to how great an extent the Chinese have already learned the arts of self-government. It was not without reason that a Western authority (writing before the outbreak of the revolution) described China as 'the greatest Republic the world has ever seen.' <sup>2</sup>

The momentous Edict in which the Manchu house signed away its imperial heritage was issued on the twelfth day of February It contains many noteworthy features, but the words which are of special interest from the constitutional point of view I translate as follows 3: 'The whole nation is now inclined towards a Republican form of government. The Southern and Central Provinces first gave clear evidence of this inclination, and the military leaders of the Northern Provinces have since promised their support to the same cause. By observing the nature of the people's aspirations we learn the Will of Heaven (T'ien-ming). It is not fitting that We should withstand the desires of the nation merely for the sake of the glorification of Our own House. We recognise the signs of the age, and We have tested the trend of popular opinion; and We now, with the Emperor at Our side, invest the Nation with the Sovereign Power and decree the establishment of a Constitutional Government on a Republican basis. In coming to this decision, We are actuated not only by a hope to bring solace to Our subjects, who long for the cessation of political tumult, but also by a desire to follow the precepts of the Sages of old who taught that political Sovereignty rests ultimately with the People.'

Such was the dignified and yet pathetic swan-song of the dying Manchu dynasty. Whatever our political sympathies may be, we are not obliged to withhold our tribute of compassion for the sudden and startling collapse of a dynasty that has ruled China—not always inefficiently—for the last two hundred and sixty-seven years. The date of the extinction of the Ming dynasty and the accession of the Manchus synchronises with a period which is of interest to all Englishmen, for at that very time England was convulsed by a momentous revolution of her own. Emperor and people confronted each other last winter on the plains of Central China just as the armies of the King and Commons of England faced each other in 1644 on the field of Marston Moor. The downfall of the English King was followed by a short-lived Commonwealth. The abdication of the Chinese Emperor has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Professor H. A. Giles, in The Civilisation of China.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Edict is issued in the name of the Dowager-Empress Lung-yü.

been accompanied by the establishment of a Republic which has still to prove itself worthy of a patriot's devotion.

There is something in average human nature which impels men to mourn with the conquered even when they have reason to rejoice with the conqueror. Nearly every lost cause has its romance; nearly every fallen champion makes a mute appeal, not in vain, to our sympathy. We must beware of allowing our emotional interest in a fallen dynasty to make us deaf to the cries that rose from the lips of a patient and misgoverned people to the ears of a corrupt and incompetent Court. Yet it is surely permissible to remind ourselves that even among the much-abused Manchu princes there are some who are far more deserving of compassion than of blame, and who, in a better and more wholesome environment, might have lived to earn the affection and gratitude, rather than the hate and scorn, of the people of China. In spite of his fatal weakness of character, it is difficult not to class among these the lonely figure of the unhappy ex-Regent. Those of us who remember Prince Ch'un as a courteous and gentle-mannered youth of nineteen years of age, who signalised his entrance into public life by bearing the weight of his country's disgrace at the Court of a Western monarch, will not be niggards of our pity for one whose brief and ill-starred career of earthly greatness ended, as it began, in the ashes of humiliation.4 Brother of a puppet-Emperor whose life was ruined by a woman's lust for power, father of an Emperor whose three years' reign came to an ignoble end before he had reached his sixth birthday, the ex-Regent must now prostrate himself before the shrines of his imperial ancestors and confess to the spirits of the august dead his share in the ruin of their house. 'There is a sacred veil,' said Burke, 'to be drawn over the beginnings of all government.' It is sometimes fitting to draw a sacred veil over the end as well.

The Abdication Edict cannot fail to be of interest to students of the science of politics. The Throne itself is converted into a bridge to facilitate the transition from the Monarchical to the Republican form of government. The Emperor remains absolute to the last, and the very Republican Constitution, which involves his own disappearance from political existence, is created by the fiat of the Emperor in his last official utterance. Theoretically, the Republic is established not by a people in arms acting in opposition to the imperial will, but by the Emperor acting with august benevolence for his people's good. The cynic may smile at the transparency of the attempt to represent the abdication as entirely voluntary, but in this procedure we find something more

<sup>4</sup> The writer was one of the foreigners who (in 1901) had the privilege of meeting the young prince when he was on his way to Germany to present the humble apologies of China for the murder of the German envoy by a 'Boxer.'

than a mere 'face-saving' device invented for the purpose of effecting a dignified retreat in the hour of disaster.

Perhaps the greatest interest of the decree centres in its appeal to the wisdom of the national sages, and its acceptance of their theory as to the ultimate seat of political sovereignty. The heart of the drafter may have quailed when he wrote the words that signified the surrender of the imperial power, but the spirit of Mencius guided his hand. It now remains for us to hope that the teachings of the wise men of old, which have been obeyed to such momentous issues by the last of the Emperors, will not be treated with contempt by his Republican successors. Let them remember that those wise men were not wise only in matters affecting statecraft and kingly rule. They were teachers of morals and builders of human character before they were political theorisers. Let the architects of the New China remember that they, too, will assuredly be called upon to choose-not once, but many timesbetween obeying and disobeying 'the precepts of the sages of old,' and that the fate of their country and the welfare of mankind may be dependent on the way in which they exercise their choice.

R. F. Johnston.

## CAPTAIN SYNGE'S EXPERIENCES AT SALAMANCA

A WAR MEMORY OF A 10TH HUSSAR

It was a summer evening, Old Kaspar's work was done; And he, before his cottage door, Was sitting in the sun.

Sixty years ago in the Western wilds of Ireland there lived a certain Colonel Charles Synge, late of the 10th Royal Hussars. It is believed that he only bore the courtesy title of Colonel by virtue of the brevet rank which the son of Erin so readily bestows on anyone who has been connected with the Army. The records of the 10th Hussars show that he left the regiment as a captain on its return from active service in 1814, and there is some ground for supposing that his resignation may have been due to the circumstances which resulted in the admission to that famous regiment of the officers who were known as the 'Elegant Extracts.'

Among the Colonel's papers, which have come into the hands of one of his grandsons who now writes these lines, is a short account of the part he played in the battle of Salamanca, of the wound which he received there, and of the primitive surgical

treatment to which the poor fellow was subjected.

The paper has suffered from time and ill usage, the Colonel's handwriting is, as he himself acknowledges, not of the best, and, maybe, his grammar and punctuation are at times faulty (he did not write it for publication), but it is deemed better to publish it in his own words, as the story is graphically told, and is of interest.

Captain Synge at the time of the battle was aide-de-camp to Major-General Pack (afterwards Sir Denis), who commanded a Portuguese Brigade under Marshal Beresford in Wellington's Army.

Some portions of the notes are missing, and some words

are illegible.

'As often as an anniversary of any great battle, that I was engaged in, comes round, I am asked by one or other to tell

them the story of the battle; this is all fair—but it often results in some who were not present, but who think they have as much right to my gossip as their neighbours, insisting on my telling over again what they had heard only at third hand—this is not fair. It happens unfortunately for me that my book of notes, made during the Peninsular War, is so written, or rather scribbled, as to be unintelligible to anybody but myself; so that I cannot save myself by offering them the original, and I am too indolent to write the book out "fair."

From the few words which still exist on the rest of the first torn page it appears that the Colonel had set himself a task to write out a certain portion of his notes at the time of each battle's anniversary. 'In the course of a year' he might,

presumably, complete his work.

'It had been clear to many of us young officers for several days, ever since in fact we began to retreat from the neighbourhood of Valladolid, that the Duke had an itching to try his hand at a little "Tactic." Hitherto he had confined himself to regular "Positions," the attack and defence of which he had maturely considered and planned; but now his judgment decided him to go behind the Coa, and the Army was put in motion for that purpose. He was determined however not to be bullied, his army was in good order, and his numbers not very unequal to those he was immediately opposed to (though he knew reinforcements were gathering for his enemy)."

The torn page cuts us off from the enumeration of Wellington's advantages—the possession of the fortresses, the favourable season, and the improved 'morale' of the Portuguese Army. We are plunged now in *medias res*; the retreat has begun, and

the rear guard is engaged.

'They were, however, there before us, and in greater numbers, and drove back our people, several of whom were wounded.

'I was sent to take some reinforcements, but while doing so they were countermanded. Had they continued, it seemed probable the struggle might bring on a general action, and for a moment I believe the Duke, who came up accompanied by Marshal Beresford, had half a mind. I believe the Marshal expressed himself very strongly opposed to it. However, the Duke decided to put the Army in motion again on his original line of retreat.

'To understand in some degree (i.e. as far as is necessary for non-professionals) the nature of the operations that followed, you must suppose the Tormes to be a considerable river making a bend of nearly a right angle just before it reaches Salamanca, at a small town called Alba de Tormes. There, there is a con-

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siderable bridge guarded by a tête de pont in which were 300

Spaniards of Don Carlos d'Espagne's Corps.

'A mile up the river it is fordable, and from that part of the country a range of heights stretches along towards Portugal. Along the plain, at the foot of and parallel to these heights, lay our retreat.

'The order was to move in two columns parallel to each other, the one along the open plain, the other on the high road. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery, supported by our Brigade, were to cover the retreat. Soon we were all in shape and in motion.

'The enemy appeared to be making considerable exertions by pushing his divisions along the range of heights I described as parallel to our columns in retreat: in the hope, it seemed, of out-flanking us, or perhaps of intercepting our communications

with Portugal.

'I happened to be with Headquarters when the Duke dismounted and fixed his telescope on the enemy's operations. It was evident that so numerous a Staff attracted the concentrated fire of the French Artillery, and somebody, I believe Lord Fitzroy, told us to disperse, and not crowd round the Duke. It was at this moment that a shot cut the wrist of his coat. This was at the foot of the enemy's heights and between the rear division of our column next the heights, and our brigade with the Cavalry, who were preparing to act as a Rear Guard. I mention these trifling circumstances because it was precisely at this time that the Duke made up his mind to attack the enemy. He saw that in their anxiety to menace our line of retreat, they had stretched themselves out so much, that if their leading division was attacked, they could not support it before it was beaten in detail.

'No sooner was it decided to attack than orders were given that the two columns of divisions should form two lines, facing the heights. Our leading Division, the 3rd, now became the right of our front line, and was ordered to move at once to attack the enemy's leading Division; and to overthrow it, if possible, before it could receive support. This operation could not have been confided to better hands. Sir Edward Pakenham, whom I knew very well, and who was always particularly kind to me, had hitherto been acting as Assistant Adjutant-General, which did not at all suit his taste or ambition to distinguish himself in command of a Corps; but, whenever he mentioned his wish to the Duke, his brother-in-law, he only got snubbed for his pains and advised to stay as he was. Now, however, owing to the absence of Sir Thomas Picton, he was placed in command of the 3rd Division. He commenced his attack with his right Brigade, in which were both battalions of the Fifth Regiment, and while he was giving them their orders he addressed a few words to them; "this was the first time he had command of a Division, and he looked now to the Fifth

Regiment for a character."

'His character was in safe hands, and was soon made, for nothing could surpass the brilliancy of the whole operation. The leading Brigade of the enemy had made the best disposition in their power to meet Pakenham, but "he would not be denied," went bang at them, and knocked them over or rolled them up whenever they attempted to rally. Even when their Cavalry tried to stop "the Fifth," they threw back only one of their wings and received them with the other in line; and, after a moment's destructive firing, actually moved on against the Cavalry in that shape. So complete was the overthrow, and so excited were the victors, that Mr. Bolton, carrying both colours of the Fifth (the officer who carried the other having fallen in the last charge), was moving so fast that Pakenham rode up to him and said, "If I cannot stop the Fifth from doing too much, I must only cut down the officer carrying the colours!"

'I left my General only for a moment, and was tempted to remain longer than I intended just to see what the Duke would do, and had galloped towards our advance (now becoming our right), when I met the Prince of Orange coming from it. He too was galloping, but halloed out as he passed, "Oh, Synge, it is to be a fight after all. Pakenham is to begin on the right. Hurrah!" This made me pull up. I felt I was out of bounds and turned to retrace my steps to my own General. Anybody else would have blown me up for leaving him, but he always spoiled me, and I am ashamed to say I often presumed on his forbearance to go larking when our own Corps was inactive.

'He told me that he had that moment received his orders, which were to remain where he was in observation of the "lesser Arapiles," which were now to be a point d'appui for the enemy's right. They were very awkwardly situated for us, as they were in the rear of the left of our Divisions as they moved

to assail the heights opposite to their respective fronts.

'It happened that Marshal Marmont's army extended unequally along the heights, by which, as I said before, he weakened his left. Consequently he was more massed on his right, and Sir Lowry Cole with our extreme left Division, the Fourth, whose part it was to assault that portion of the position (for which purpose he passed us by), found more than he could do. We saw, that, having ascended the heights he was being roughly handled and after some time, though fighting desperately, he was losing ground.

'The orders Sir Denis Pack had received were discretionary. He was to watch and mark the Arapiles, and not to let any

of the enemy come down from it to molest the flank or rear of our left Division (Cole's). He was to exercise his own judgment, and if he saw a favourable opportunity, he was authorised to try and carry the Hill of the Arapiles. As soon as he communicated to me the orders the Duke had given him, he said, "I think the best thing I can do is to form my Corps as if we were going to storm the Hill, and then remain quiet until we see what will happen." He did so immediately, intending to attack it as if he was storming a fortress. A party of about one hundred men of the 4th Cacadores under Major Fearon were to form the advance, or storming party, and were ordered to gain as much ground up the Hill as the enemy would let them, and then lie down. Two companies of Grenadiers of the 16th, and two companies of the Grenadiers of the 1st were formed as a support for the storming party, and the command given to Sir Niel Campbell. The remainder of the battalion of the 4th Cacadores were to steal up the sides of the Hill and to cover themselves as best they could. Sir Niel Campbell's four hundred Grenadiers were in line; in rear of his right, in column, was the First Regiment under Sir Noel Hill (my dearest friend), while in rear of his left, also in column, was the 16th under Colonel Pizarro. The whole, thus formed, lay down, while my General and I kept a sharp look-out at our friends on the hill, and also on Cole's Division, which we soon perceived was overmatched. In a short time Sir Denis received a message from Cole to send him some assistance.

'There appeared to Sir Denis Pack, and also to myself, to be so fierce a struggle just at this moment between Sir Lowry Cole's Division and the enemy, that it must be over, one way or the other, in a few minutes-long before we could get to his support, which at the shortest time would have been half an He explained to the Aide-de-Camp who brought the message what the Duke's orders were, and that, if we moved to try to get to Sir Lowry, the fellows on the Arapiles would be down on our flank and rear before we got half way. In this dilemma he decided on rushing on the instant to try to carry our own hill, very properly arguing that if we succeeded we should soon be with Cole, and if we failed our attack must have the effect of preventing those on the Arapiles from detaching any men to add to Sir Lowry's difficulties. In a moment all the commanding officers were under weigh. As the General and I were riding to Major Fearon's storming party, he remarked that both on the right and left of the point of direction which the storming party were taking there appeared better openings to get to the top, and he added, "I wish I had divided Fearon's party into two and sent half towards each of the openings, but

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it is too late now." I said, "Not if you choose to let me gallop at once and give him the order, and allow me to take command of one." He hesitated for a second, but on my repeating the offer and urging the necessity of my being off or it would be too late, he consented. I was soon up with Major Fearon. He took fifty to the left, and I the same number (not that we stopped to count) to the right. Immediately after this change my direction led through a patch of standing rye, where several of my little party fell, at first I supposed killed, for the enemy opened their guns as soon as they saw what we were about; but one man near my horse fell in such a manner that it struck me it was sham, and as he lay on his face I gave him rather a sharp prod with my sword—there was no time for any other appeal to his "honour"—on which he turned up perfectly unhurt! What became of him afterwards I know not; I had other matters to think of. I should here mention that Sir Denis Pack had ordered that none should load, but that the Hill should be carried with the bayonet (knowing well that if once such troops as we had began firing they would never get to the top). While I was appealing to feelings of all sorts and had just got through the last of the rye, Pack overtook me, and said in a whisper, "Synge! I think those fellows won't carry it for you." I said, "Oh! yes, they will, we are over the worst of it." I meant the ground. The roar of the enemy's guns was tremendous as we approached the top, and somewhat unusual in its sound, for they tried to depress the muzzles of their guns as much as possible, and though they could not do so much harm, so steep was it, it sounded as if they all but touched the top of our heads. I have never heard the like before. Those following in support fared worse.

'The last part of the ascent was so steep that it was almost impossible for a horse to climb it; even the men did so with difficulty-but I had a horse that would do what scarcely any horse would attempt. It was not until I was close upon the summit that I knew what we had to contend with, for I found the ground, which had at a little distance the appearance of a gentle slope, formed a natural wall of I suppose between three and four feet high, at the top of which it spread out into a level table-land, on which the enemy were drawn up in line about ten yards from me. We looked at each other for a moment. I saw immediately that what we had undertaken was impracticable, as the men could not mount the scarped ground without first laying their arms upon the top, and even then in such small numbers that it would be absurd-but I also saw that we were so easily covered by "the wall," and the enemy so exposed from head to foot, that if we fired they could not remain an instant. At this critical moment the head of Sir Noel Hill's column, which had followed me in support, was close up, and Hill himself called to me to ask what to do and what was before us (he could not see). I said, "Be quick, and let your leading company close up to this bank and fire away while the others deploy as fast as they can and fire as they get up-the enemy are exposed and we are protected by this parapet." To my horror Hill replied, "You forget we are not loaded!" "Well." said I, "we have no other chance. Load away as fast as you can." He gave the word of command, and the men were in the act-I was addressing some few words of encouragement as well as the breathless state of anxiety I was in permitted (my poor old Ronald with great difficulty keeping his position on the steep), and two or three of the storming party were trying to scramble up the scarp, when the whole line opposed to us fired, knocked me over and literally cut to pieces the few that had climbed the "wall." My thigh was broken, and in falling, having no hold of the saddle, I could not in any manner save myself. Ronald made a couple of springs down the hill while I was falling, and this, together with the mangled bodies of those who fell back off the scarp on to the head of Hill's column, which in the confusion of loading was unable to see what was happening above, caused a sensation of panic which was complete.

'The French line followed up their volley by charging up to the edge of the scarp, down which they leapt when they saw our confusion.

'Sir Niel Campbell's Grenadiers, the left column and all, went!—the disaster was complete. I had fallen to the ground on the near side of my horse, it being the left thigh that was broken, and was in great agony owing to a sort of instinctive effort to use the broken limb in which the marrow also seemed to be breaking. A gallant little fellow, an ensign, who was adjutant of Hill's Regiment, ran up to me and put his arms under mine to try and raise me, and if his strength had equalled his courage and goodwill he would have carried me off, but he was of the smallest stature. I told him that my thigh was broken, and that it was of no use. The bayonets of the charging army were all but touching him before I could persuade him to save himself, and I actually pushed him away. A lot of the French ran over where I was, and amongst them an officer, cheering them on. As he passed over me, seeing me twirling about in frightful agony owing to the position in which I had fallen, he called out at the appalling spectacle my state exhibited, "Oh! mon Dieu!" and then asked, "Est-ce-que vous êtes Anglais?" I said, "Yes," and he pointed to a man by his side as he ran by and told him to save me. The man, who I suppose was a non-commissioned officer, did stop for a second or two, which perhaps saved my life. Some of the enemy then began to plunder those who had fallen, wounded, dving, or dead, and several began at me. I was in Hussar uniform. and wore all my riches about me, with some smart things about my neck, which there was a scramble for. Most foreign soldiers, at least such as I have known, conceal their money in the waistband of the dress or inside the leg of the boot. To see if I had any such store some began cutting my clothes off, as you might have seen a sheep in the act of being shorn, and one began to pull off my boots. This was horrid, for my overalls were fastened down by curb-chain piping, and the attempt to get the boot off the broken limb was intolerable. I was soon left to go out of the world nearly as naked as I had first entered it.

'Just then my attention was called from my own state to a fine young fellow of the 1st Grenadiers, who was defending himself with his musket against four or five men who surrounded him, and who were all trying to bayonet him. I called to them to spare him as he was now their prisoner. Someone, who I believe was in authority, thought I wanted something for myself and seemed disposed to ascertain what I stood in need of, but when he learnt I was appealing for the young Portuguese sergeant, he turned away. "Oh! as for these canaille!" was all I heard, and how it ended I do not know, for I myself became an object for some of the same sort of extinguishers. Suddenly they were all called off to re-form on their original position on the top of the Arapiles, and I and the bodies of my comrades were left to our fate.

'I could not perceive that any near me were alive. It was some time too before I could realise the particulars of my own situation. I was a prisoner. I was wounded. I was naked. An open artery was bleeding fast. I was dying. Could this be death? There could be no doubt about it, and in a few moments I should be dead. Having come to that conclusion I lay down to die, and, having said my prayers, waited with composure for the last struggle. After lying some little time expecting faintness and some of the usual symptoms of death, my attention was attracted by some cannon shot. The balls were literally ploughing the ground all about me. They were from our own Artillery, who were in reserve on the other hill of the Arapiles, and who had opened their guns on those with whom my body lay. I thought it probable that one of those balls must hit me, and I am afraid I must acknowledge that I sat up and stretched my head as high as I could in the hope of a friendly ball ending

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my misery. But it was not to be. God, in His mercy, willed it otherwise. I began to think that I should be a long time dying, for, though I had lost much blood, I still felt no faint-Then, for the first time, it came into my head that somehow I might have "a chance," and I have often since thought of that "trying to put my head in the way of a friendly ball." It was not that I doubted His power who gave my life to preserve it. I knew well

> He could arrest the flying ball, And send it back, and bid it fall On those from whose proud ranks the thunder broke;

nor was it that I ever thought myself at liberty to put an end to my existence, but I considered that God's final decree was issued and that I had received my summons. Thousands of as good, or better, had already fallen, and every moment on that field someone was breathing his last, and I had no claim to exemption. All I thought of doing at the time was to ease the last pang and palliate what, from my feeling of strength while bleeding so much, I imagined was likely to be a severe last struggle. I believe now that I was wrong, and the following anecdote will show how I felt on a former occasion when I was judging for another. When we broke up from the Lines of Torres Vedras, and were driving Masséna's army out of Portugal, I think it was at the affair of Redinha, I remained in a pine wood, from which we had just dislodged the enemy, to point out the directions some different regiments were to take. Exactly at the spot I stood lay a man who had just fallen, shot through the head. He was insensible, but was writhing in the most violent contortions it was possible to conceive. So violent, indeed, and so unusual were they, that almost every man of a column of riflemen which was passing at the time uttered some exclamation. At last one of the men fell out of the column with the humane intention of putting the poor sufferer out of his misery. I had thought of it myself while I was waiting there, and was very doubtful if I should not do the same, on the principle of "doing as I would be done by"; nevertheless, I stopped the rifleman and desired him to join his regiment.'

There is a page of the Colonel's narrative missing. Pack's Brigade was rallied, and the arrival of the 6th Division prevented the disaster which their retreat had threatened. The Portuguese once more are led forward to the Arapiles, and the General himself comes across his wounded Aide-de-Camp, whom at first he

does not recognise.

'At last he stopped his horse, looked for a second, and then said, "My dear Synge, is that you?" I said, "Yes, General, here I am." The dear fellow put his hand across his eyes and as soon as he could speak asked me to tell him the worst at once, and what my wounds were. I told him. He then said a word of comfort, sent for a surgeon, and went on with his men. It seems he was moving to attack the Arapiles a second time. This attack was abandoned with only a skirmish, for the battle was won on the right wing, and seemed likely to go on well now on the left and in the centre. This, of course, I could not judge of.

'In another moment my gallant, valued, tried friend, Sir Augustus West, who was Sir Denis Pack's Staff Surgeon, came up. He said nothing to me, but made some men, who had placed me on a bearer, lay me down. I told him as much as was necessary. He soon untwisted my fine tourniquet, and said that it was very wrong, that it would be necessary to put on a bandage and splints at once, and that afterwards, when we got to the rear, he would see what was best to be done. While he was busy with me, never thinking whether he was under fire or not, some other kind friend had found a hospital wagon, and then my servant came up with my led horse. They placed me in a wagon and sent me, as I afterwards learnt, towards our line of retreat.

'I knew nothing of what happened after Sir Augustus West left me, until they came to tell me that an escort with a "bearer" had arrived to carry me to Salamanca. With the movement my agonies began anew, though I was managed with more care than comes to the share of many. I could bear but little at a time. If the "bearer" was not kept stretched, or if one of the men made a false step it nearly put an end to me. However, I reached Salamanca, and was carried into a house allotted to me, and laid on a bed in one of those alcoves where beds are usually placed.

'West was soon with me; he again set my limb with better means, and desired I should have a basin of water poured over the thigh every fifteen minutes until he came again. I was to have water to drink if I wanted it, but nothing else. Either Lord Clinton himself or somebody from him told me that one of the Duke's Aides-de-Camp was to take home the news of the victory, which I now understood was most glorious. So much so, that the Duke was pursuing the French in the direction

of Madrid.

'I managed to write one line by Clinton to my father, which fortunately arrived by the same post which brought the news of the victory and the names of the killed and wounded.

'It seemed as if "I was going on as well as could be expected," notwithstanding the excessive heat, when, about the

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third day, I was startled out of a doze by feeling swarms of disgusting creatures crawling all over my face, without having the least notion what they were. West came in soon, and I saw all was not right. He wouldn't tell me what they were, but as soon as he had relieved me from them and left the room my man told me they were from my wound. I thought that meant that mortification had set in-but again my time had not yet come. For two or three days I was quite comfortable and even in good spirits, notwithstanding that I had to be moved again. In the hall where I was quartered there was a large room like a ball room with one angular window looking into the "Place Maior" and a side window into the Calle de Immediately opposite was a very large, handsome house in which the "Marshal," who was also wounded, was placed. On the evening of the day West found me in the horrid state I described he brought two of his professional friends to see me, and they decided to move me from the alcove I was in to the large ball room. This they performed in the kindest manner and with their own arms. There was no furniture in the room, and I was placed on a boarded stretcher, that the quantities of cold water they kept constantly pouring over my limb might run off. Several of my friends found me out, and amongst them I remember Lord Hardinge brought me Childe Harold, which I saw for the first time, and which entertained me much, more particularly as I had known Lord Byron at Cambridge. When I began I did not feel as if I could read, but it was no common work and I read it through.

'For the first week I had no fever nor any swelling, and I was to understand that there was still time to take off the limb, but that, when once it began to swell, it would be impossible. I had no hesitation in deciding to take my chance. I was young and healthy, unmarried, no children, and no great loss to any body; besides, a circumstance that had occurred a few days before had given me an opportunity of considering calmly, and when in possession of all my faculties, what I should wish to be done with me if ever it fell to my lot to be in such a state as I then found myself, and I was therefore prepared to decide at once. About the tenth day I began to lose my spirits and to feel really ill. My thigh began to swell and continued increasing in size for several days. Then the misery of being always in one position, and of not being allowed to move the limb, or stir in the least, became every day more intolerable. I sank to the most miserable state of weakness, and became so emaciated that my hip bones, my shoulder blades, and my elbow joints came through my skin. What puzzled West a good deal was that after a month, when I had begun to show signs of mending,

and had been gaining a little strength, a great and rather sudden change for the worst took place, and I was very ill for some days. It turned out that a piece of dark cloth had come away from the wound, which I could not account for as I had on light blue overalls when I was hit. We found out, a long time afterwards, that it must have been a piece of the Hussar cloak, which was folded according to our regimental custom over the holsters. It seems the ball, after passing through the bone of the thigh, had struck against the bar in the saddle for the stirrupleather, after which it turned off, luckily for poor Ronald, through many doubles of the cloak, some little portion of which must have been over the thigh at the moment. We only found this out when I began to travel and first unfolded the cloak, which had many little windows in it.

'As soon as the last splinter and this portion of the cloth came away I began to mend fast, and longed to be able to look out of the angular window on to the square. Indeed, each day brought more wants. I wanted letters from home. I wanted to see the newspapers that contained the news of the victory, and to know whether people in England thought as much of us as we did of ourselves.

'After about six weeks I made an attempt to get up for a while, and thought I should be able to walk with crutches, but the moment my servant put me in an upright position I became giddy and fatigued, and was only too happy to lie down again; and yet, strange to say, the next morning I decided to try again, and so far succeeded as to take a couple of steps, during which time my stretcher was moved so that I could see out of the window, which gave me new life.

'In another week I determined to see if I could sit on a horse, and had one prepared with pillows on the saddle. It was backed up to the great stairs in the house I was in. I had got as far as the first step, and did not anticipate any difficulty in descending on crutches with my leg hung by a sling from my neck, when I very nearly fell head foremost from top to bottom. The effort to recover myself shook me all to pieces, and I was taken back to bed. I did not dare to tell West. In a few days I tried again more cautiously and had actually got on the horse, when, to my horror, who should walk up but He wasted no time in scolding me, but my servants "caught it." He directed them to take me back at once to my bedroom, superintended the operation, and walked off so angry that he would not speak to me. I was good for a while, but West was summoned to join the Army destined to invest Burgos, and I began to plan a journey to Madrid. I had not

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vet ridden 200 yards and I felt sure I could ride 150 The fact was, that before I was hit, I was so accustomed to living on horseback, that it presented itself to me as my easiest position, and it was not until I was outside the town of Salamanca that I began to think of what a folly I was committing. My thigh began to ache so much that before a mile had been accomplished I was lifted off and placed on the grass. After an hour's rest I was again put upon my pillowed saddle to return to Salamanca, but the rest of the convoy having to reach Alba de Tormes, and one of the party being a surgeon, I thought I might get so far. I was young then, and took a good deal of killing it appears, for in that miserable state I continued to move a little every day until I reached the Escurial, where I halted for a few days very ill and quite knocked up.

'I could see but little of "the wonder"; indeed I was in such constant pain my curiosity was almost cured, but I remember having had myself laid on my back on the grand staircase to gaze at the dome. As soon as I could move I set out for, and actually did reach, Madrid, whence I was ordered to England as there was no chance of my being able to do any duty for

some time.'

Here this paper ends, but among the others there are a few pages which refer to the time when Colonel Synge was confined to his room in Salamanca. The story runs as follows:

'Before we advanced as far as Salamanca we had had some little skirmishing with the rear guard of the enemy, who made a show of keeping us in check. I was desired to take a squadron of cavalry, and ascertain if a river was fordable, somewhat lower down than where the Duke was then operating. I had not gone very far when, perceiving a mill a little out of my route, I left the squadron and rode across to try and procure the information from the miller. As I approached his house my attention was attracted by the figure of a female more than usually well dressed, standing outside a garden on the road I was to pass. It was so very long since my eyes had been blessed with the sight of a lady, that I stared as if something supernatural had crossed my path. I was as civil as I could be in one minute, but ended in the next by saying I must leave her. I could only point to the squadron which had halted awaiting my return. Nevertheless she said that I must stop to answer one question. She told me that she had heard that the British Army was advancing and that a battle was likely to take place in Salamanca. In dread of this she had left her house in the town and had come to conceal herself with the miller, one of her tenants. Alarmed and embarrassed at not having the advice she anticipated from her friends, she had determined to ask a British officer if she was safe where she was for a day or two. I implored her not to judge British officers by the apparent want of feeling in her first acquaintance, for I had already stayed longer than the

importance of my duty permitted.

'I advised her to stay where she was and to make herself known to the Commanding Officer of the first detachment that arrived at the mill, but that if it were possible, though from the nature of the service I was employed on it was most improbable, I would return and see how I could serve her. I then told her the name of my General, which she would find was well known, and that I was his Aide-de-Camp. In thanking me and in saying farewell, she added, "If you ever do take yonder city, which I fear is impossible, think of No. 42 Calle de Zamora, and give me an opportunity of repeating my thanks." I vowed to take the town if it were only to see her again, and having asked one question of the miller, galloped off to verify his account of the ford.

'It happened that when I had been some days in the billet after my wound, I began to ask questions as to what part of the town I was in, and the name of the Calle de Zamora struck a chord. I then ventured to ask in what part of the street "Oh!" said my informant, "that is exactly No. 42 was. opposite, and Marshal Beresford, who was also wounded, is

there."

'I then sent West to tell the lady that the first British officer she ever saw was opposite to her, delighted to hear she was safe at home, and that only for a wound received in taking the town for her sake, would have himself visited her in person. In a short time two smart maids asked to be admitted and were ushered in. They came on the part of the lady opposite to inform themselves of my state and ascertain whether she could be of any use. I was desperately ill at the time, but I sent back word that if I survived I would call on her whenever I could get so far. Every morning my two maidens came for their bulletin, and when at last I became so bad that there appeared little hope of me, one fine morning in walked my Dulcinea herself. Our meeting was tender. She loved me for the dangers I had passed, and I her, that she did pity them. I am afraid I must own that I wished her safe at home, for I was at death's door. My watchful friend West forbade any more visits until I was out of danger, after which my inamorata began the meetings anew, until I fancied for her some name of chivalry and that I was her Knight of the Lance. But all illusion was soon to vanish. Hitherto my fair one came early, impatient to know how I had slept, but one day her visit was

postponed until after dinner, when—Oh, Dulcinea! Oh, queen of my Château en Espagne! What have you been and gone and done? eaten at least a stone of pure garlic! Nothing less could have filled the whole room with the odour. I was cured of one of my wounds by a single breath!!! The very recollection of the garlic always prevents me from remembering any more.'

F. St. L. TOTTENHAM.

## 'THE EDINBURGH REVIEW' ON CARDINAL NEWMAN

THE appearance of Newman's biography has naturally called forth a good many estimates of the Cardinal's published works and of his position as a writer and thinker. Many of these estimates have illustrated forcibly the remark of the late Mr. R. H. Hutton that very few of his critics carefully study Newman's career and writings as a whole—a study quite essential to the true understanding of his mind. There are few men in respect of whose opinions really able writers have made such amazing blunders, due perhaps in part to the fact that some of his ultimate conclusions appear to these writers so superstitious as to warrant them in being certain beforehand that his thought cannot be very deep. Mr. Hutton selects as an instance what he calls an 'astoundingly unintelligent' criticism passed by Professor Huxley on a passage in the Essay on Miracles. Newman is speaking of traditional stories of past events, and points out that if they are very long past, the evidence for them may naturally have perished. The absence of evidence is no proof of their falsity. For evidence is not to be expected. They can neither be proved true nor proved false. He uses the phrase 'as if evidence were the test of truth,' and Huxley retorted in the following passage:

'As if evidence were the test of truth!' although the truth in question is the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain phenomena at a certain time or place. This sudden revelation of the great gulf fixed between the ecclesiastical and the scientific mind is enough to take away the breath of one unfamiliar with the clerical organ.

Mr. Hutton pointed out that Newman's words were in reality a truism. He did not say that evidence was unnecessary in order that we might know such facts, but only that its absence in such a case did not disprove them. 'A looser or more careless bit of interpretation,' added Mr. Hutton, 'of a very exact writer I never read than Professor Huxley's criticism.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Cardinal Newman, by R. H. Hutton, pp. 60 seq. (Methuen.)

Probably few people have taken Dr. Edwin Abbott very seriously, but his book entitled *Philomythus* is full of criticisms which equally miss Newman's meaning because the writer is certain beforehand that Newman is aiming at the justification of superstitious beliefs rather than carefully analysing the mental

processes.

It had been my intention to review several of the more serious misunderstandings of Newman's drift to which the appearance of my book has given occasion, but the article in The Edinburgh Review of April contains such remarkable illustrations of Mr. Hutton's saying that for the moment it claims all my attention.2 The reviewer uses very strong epithets in respect of the subject of his attack. He accuses him of 'refined brutality,' speaks of some of his controversial retorts as 'disagreeable and insulting,' charges him with exhibiting 'the Catholic ferocity-the cruellest spirit on earth.' I make no complaint of strong language used in replying to one who himself, on occasion, hit hard; but I think that two conditions are needed to justify it. In the first place, it should be used only in an essay in which real care is taken to understand the person thus criticised. Otherwise it savours of barbaric abuse. Secondly, I do not think such language should be used by a writer who fires from behind the wall of an anonymous publication. If you abuse an eminent man you should accept the responsibility of doing so, and have the courage of your invective. You should not strike at a dead man's reputation ferociously without giving his defenders the opportunity of challenging you or prosecuting you for libel before the courts of public opinion.

The Edinburgh reviewer's inspection of Newman's writings has been to all appearances so cursory as to lead him to misapprehensions some of which are not far short of ludicrous. It is not a case of a slight misunderstanding here or a slight misunderstanding there of the meaning of a very subtle writer, but he is apparently unacquainted with salient and well-known features of Newman's thought. Doubtless on some subjects passages may be quoted from Newman which, to a hasty reader, appear opposite to the drift of other passages. The writer cited in the introductory chapter to Newman's biography notes how the Roman theologians were puzzled by Newman's apparent combination of liberalism and ultramontanism, of maximism and minimism. But if a critic, instead of endeavouring to master the somewhat subtle positions which such opposite currents mark out, wholly ignores one line of thought and devotes himself exclusively to its opposite as though it gave the man's whole

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I should have noticed the article sooner, but owing to absence from England I did not see it until some time had elapsed after its appearance.

position, he is landed in very absurd conclusions. And if in the lines of argument he does recognise he neglects the explanations whereby the author guards against misunderstanding, the results are yet more absurd. This is what the *Edinburgh* reviewer has done. The result is an account of Newman's views which has not even the likeness of a caricature.

Let me take a few specimens of his treatment in the order in which they come. The first which I find is not one of the worst, but it is sufficiently remarkable as betraying unacquaint-

ance with Newman's intellectual temper.

The writer quotes from Mark Pattison's estimate of the limitations of the Oxford writers of 1830 and the prejudiced view of history to which, in his opinion, they led, and then proceeds as follows:

Newman never, all through his life, took a step towards overcoming this early prejudice. He imagined a golden age of the Church, or several golden ages, and found them in 'the first three centuries,' in the time of Alfred the Great or of Edward the Confessor, or in the seventeenth century. He was only sure that the sixteenth century was made of much baser metal. This unhistorical idealisation of the past, even of a barbarous past, was very characteristic of Newman and his friends. They bequeathed to the Anglican Church the strange legend of an age of pure doctrine and heroic practice, to which it should be our aim to 'return.' The real strength of this legend lies in the fact that it has no historical foundation. The ideal which is presented as a return or a revival is nothing of the kind, but a creation of our own time, projected by the imagination into the past, from which it comes back with a halo of authority. Newman had his full share of these illusions. (p. 273.)

Now here, be it observed, the writer is not content with stating that Newman looked back—as he certainly did—with regret at certain doctrines which the Church of England had maintained in earlier days and had since lost, or that his imagination was fired by certain episodes in Church history. He accuses Newman of unhistorical idealisation of the actual state of things in the past, and even in a barbarous past, and of wishing to return to it as ideally good for our own days also.

Any careful student of Newman knows that this picture is not only inexact, but the direct contrary to Newman's temper of mind. His whole view of Church history was pessimistic, not optimistic. When the late Sir Rowland Blennerhassett once spoke to him of certain alleged episodes connected with the Vatican Council, Newman replied: 'Yes, they are very shocking, but they are nothing to what occurred during some of the earlier Councils.' In his Essay on Development he gives it as a note of the true Church in the fifth and sixth centuries that in some places 'its members are degenerate and corrupt, and surpassed in conscientiousness and virtue as in the gifts of

emphatically against the optimism of those of his followers who were unfamiliar with history like W. G. Ward, or those who did not recognise its anomalies like T. W. Allies. It will be sufficient to illustrate his temper of mind by quoting a few passages from a letter addressed to Mr. T. W. Allies while he was writing his Formation of Christendom. Mr. Allies had in his book treated as an ideal aim for all times the union of Church and State, and other features in the civilisation introduced by Charlemagne and existing in the reigns of Alfred and Edward the Confessor. Newman writes to him as follows:

My position is, that there is no probability in facts (i.e. no evidence) that one organisation of society saves more souls than another. . . On the other hand, that one system (i.e. the mediæval and others besides it) accidentally, i.e. at a given time and place, is better suited than another for the object, I not only grant, but would maintain. And I fully concede, that this or that method of State action (humanly speaking) is absolutely necessary at a certain crisis, in order to extricate the Church from existing difficulties, and set her on her course again; though this remark applies to Victor Emmanuel quite as well as to Charlemagne (without of course denying the sin of the one and the merit of the other), and, moreover, allows me to consider that a system, e.g. the mediæval, enforced out of season may save fewer souls than some other system. . . .

I grant that State protection, patronage, sanction, is [an immense gain] in its abstract idea, but is State patronage always so in fact, and in the concrete? I say, no, because in fact patronage always has been, always will be, something besides patronage, in mundo maligno; it will be interference. When the State gives, it will always take. The Quid pro quo in Christian legislation is Imperial Prerogative. Constantine built churches, and delivered his opinion about orthodoxy and heresy. He honoured bishops, but he introduced himself, and preached to them, in their Œcumenical Assembly, and called himself a 'bishop for external matters.' We must consider, then, what State Patronage in the concrete connotes, viz. State influence in holy things. . . . I am not speaking against ecclesiastical establishments; I am but asking whether there is proof that the Church saves more souls when established, than when persecuted, or than when tolerated. . . . May not I prefer, at this day, for the saving of souls, a Gallio for my ruler to a Philip II., a Gamaliel to a St. Louis? 3

I think I am speaking well within the mark when I say that the passage I have quoted from the Edinburgh Review ascribes an attitude of mind and a quality of historical judgments to Newman entirely different from those visible in his own written words.

But far more misleading are the pages in which the reviewer professes to give an account of Newman's views on the human reason which he holds to be very disparaging to that faculty.

A critic may be excused for missing some of the qualifications introduced by a very subtle writer in the exposition of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Life of T. W. Allies, p. 120. (Burns and Oates.)

his general theory. Still more may he be excused where some of those qualifications indicate a mind of extraordinary complexity and at first sight present paradoxes, or statements not quite in line with the general drift. But what is to be said if he simply strings together a certain number of qualifications and apparent paradoxes and gives them as if they were the whole theory? Yet this is what has happened in the document which Newman's general argument is contained in I am reviewing. the University Sermons, the Grammar of Assent, The Idea of a University, and the Apologia. So far as it is concerned with the disparagement of the results of explicit reasoning in certain conditions its outcome is somewhat as follows: The development of human reason in civilised society is found, as a matter of experience, not to be favourable to religious belief. Are we then to conclude that the human reason witnesses against religion? The alternative is that civilisation is apt to bring along with its development of the reasoning powers a certain sophistication of mind and a certain worldliness of mental atmosphere which are in the matter of religious belief unfavourable to the interests of right reason and truth. This latter alternative Newman accepts. He holds that the reason is apt, when given free rein, to travel beyond its natural sphere, and in so doing to make tangles it cannot resolve, and to reject truths which its own action has thus obscured. Moreover in an evil world it gets steeped in an atmosphere which dims its perception of religious first principles.

Newman's argument in general pits judgment and accurate perception against cleverness and ingenuity in some urgent matters which admit neither of demonstration nor of scientific induction. Common-sense is often a truer guide (he holds) than ingenuity. 'A man,' he says, 'may reason well and argue badly, or vice versa.' Reason in this higher sense is to be trusted. Reasoning in the sense of clever argument is in certain circumstances untrustworthy. It is often special pleading. Our conscience tells us our often painful duty; and its judgment represents our rational nature in the truest sense. Yet the world or the tempter will suggest plenty of unanswerable arguments to prove that a pleasanter course is a right one.4 The abnormal development of the dialectical faculty by increased civilisation is not favourable in matters of fundamental religious belief to that purity of perception and single eye for truth which is our chief security for starting from and adhering to true first principles. And it is on the first principles we accept that our decision really

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This is of course the meaning of the reference to Eve in one of Newman's sermons, on which the reviewer bestows his undiscerning scorn. (Edinburgh Review, p. 276.)

depends. The evidence is sufficient for those who start from true first principles, insufficient for those who do not. Just as excessive civilisation is not favourable to civic virtue, which is found to greater perfection in the simpler lives of more primitive societies, so too in the case of religious belief. The development of civilisation is, on the other hand, favourable to science, in which there is no such liability to error or delicacy of perception needed in the matter of first principles; in which there is no temptation to be indifferent to the truth, and in which accurate experiment and the actual reasoning process are the sole considerations of importance.

Newman's contention, then, is that right reason is on the side of religion and that irreligious reasonings are not trustworthy exercises of the reason, but are vitiated by the false assumptions which underlie them. The presence of the Christian Church is needed in a civilised community to preserve the influence of religious first principles and to counteract the false assumptions of an irreligious world. That he distrusts the actual reasonings of able men of the world on primary religious beliefs is therefore true. He also holds the habit of mind characteristic of devotees of physical science to be in some ways unfavourable to religion. But such a mistrust is not a mere theory, but the recognition of a fact, whether or no he exaggerates its extent. Educated men do at all events in many cases adopt an irreligious philosophy. Huxley, Tyndall, the agnostic don at Oxford and Cambridge, were true characters in history, and not the inventions of a theorist. And they represent a large class still, for naturalism has plenty of advocates in our own day, though their language has changed. However undeniable it may be in the opinion of the Edinburgh reviewer (and in Newman's own opinion) that a true philosophy justifies religious belief, and that the reasoning which impugns it is a false philosophy, in point of fact the false philosophy is apt to prevail with many of the best-educated men,5 and Newman asks

In the Apologia we read as follows: 'I know that even the unaided reason when correctly exercised, leads to a belief in God, in the immortality of the soul, and in a future retribution; but I am considering the faculty of reason ectually and historically; and in this point of view, I do not think I am wrong in saying that its tendency is towards a simple unbelief in matters of religion. No truth, however sacred, can stand against it, in the long run; and hence it is that in the pagan world, when our Lord came, the last traces of the religious knowledge of former times were all but disappearing from those portions of the world in which the intellect had been active and had had a career. And in these latter days, in like manner, outside the Catholic Church things are tending—with far greater rapidity than in that old time from the circumstance of the age—to atheism in one shape or other. What a scene, what a prospect, does the whole of Europe present at this day! And not only Europe, but every government and every civilisation through the world which is under the influence of the European mind!' (p. 243.) Later on Newman explained that by the phrase 'reason actually and historically' he meant reason exercised under the

these two questions: Wherein is the philosophy false, and Why does it prevail? It is false because it assumes in reasoning about religion secular maxims which do not apply to religion, and it prevails because men living in an irreligious society are apt to imbibe the maxims of that society. The judgment is warped by these maxims. The sensitiveness of the mind to religious first principles, like the perceptions of the artist, is-as has just been said-delicate and easily dimmed. A wine-taster must not drink to excess, or he loses his powers of discrimination. An artist friend of mine once told me that he had to be very careful as to the colours among which he lived, as he found that they affected materially the accuracy of his perception of artistic effects and his powers of designing. So, too, in the case of religion 'evil communications corrupt good manners,' and as the truth of conclusions from the most accurate trains of reasoning depends on their starting from true first principles, if we would obtain the results of right reason, and not those of a man sophisticated by the unconscious adoption of false maxims, the intellect must be exercised on such subjects in an atmosphere free from corrupt influences.

So far from this particular view of Newman's being in opposition, as the reviewer holds, to the teaching of the Scholastics, it deals with a point of which scholastic manuals take no account. They treat of the true philosophy of religion. Newman deals with a wholly different question—with the conditions which are apt to predispose the mind to accept a true philosophy, and the conditions which lead it to adopt a false philosophy. If the reviewer is prepared to maintain that as a matter of fact able men do not adopt philosophies which issue in unbelief, then he may no doubt hold that Newman is unduly mistrustful of the human reason; but in that case he will hardly receive credit for an adequate recognition of the existing world of thought. he admits the fact that very many educated men do accept an irreligious philosophy, he himself mistrusts the human reason in the only sense in which Newman did so-that is to say, in its actual operations in dealing with fundamental religious belief as distinguished from its lawful use.

Whether the above view be sensible or foolish, deep or shallow, it expresses the sense in which Newman distrusted—not the human reason—but human reasoning on religious belief. And

influence of that world in which 'error spreads and becomes authority,' in which 'assumptions and false reasonings are received without question as certain truths on the credit of alternate appeals and mutual cheers and imprimaturs.' He added: 'In no case need the reasoning faculty itself be to blame or responsible except when identified with the assumptions of which it is the instrument.' (Life of Newman, vol. ii, pp. 506-507.)

his critic entirely misses its drift and limitations. He charges Newman simply with a general mistrust of the human reason, not in religion only, but in all departments. He accuses him of being both credulous and sceptical—credulous because, as he does not acquiesce in scepticism, and yet mistrusts the reason, his beliefs must by necessary inference be due to irrational credulity. He sums up his charge in the following passage:

Newman's scepticism was not doubtfulness about matters of faith; it was only a wholly unjustifiable contempt and distrust for the unaided activity of the human mind. This activity, as far as he could see, produced only various forms of 'liberalism,' which he strangely enough regarded as a kind of 'scepticism.' (p. 280.)

Here I may remark, parenthetically, that the reviewer appears to be unacquainted with Newman's well-known definition of the liberalism' he opposes, and of its connexion with scepticism. 'By liberalism I mean,' he says, 'false liberty of thought, or the exercise of thought upon matters in which, from the constitution of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and therefore is out of place.' As to the reviewer's sweeping and unqualified charge against Newman of contempt and distrust for the unaided activity of the human mind, I am tempted to ask has he ever read Newman's Lecture on Christianity and Scientific Investigation? It is one long plea for the trustworthiness of the unaided human reason in astronomy, geology, physiology, ethnology, political economy, and history (he gives this list of the sciences), for its freedom and immunity from theological interference on the express ground that in such matters the human reason is in the long run to be trusted. The lecture is one long-continued illustration of this pregnant sentence in one of his letters: 'Truth is wrought out by many minds working freely together.' How does the reviewer's crude statement of Newman's position tally with the following passages from this lecture?

It is a matter of primary importance in the cultivation of those sciences in which truth is discoverable by the human intellect that the investigator should be free, independent, unshackled in his movements. . . . We can indeed, if we will, refuse to allow of investigation or research altogether, but if we invite reason to take its place in our schools, we must let reason have fair and full play. If we reason we must submit to the conditions of reason. We cannot use it by halves; we must use it as proceeding from Him who has also given us Revelation, and to be ever interpreting its processes and diverting its attention by objections brought from a higher knowledge is parallel to the landsman's dismay in the changes of the courses of a vessel on which he has deliberately embarked, and argues surely some distrust either in the powers of reason, on the one hand, or the certainty of revealed truth on the other. . . What I would urge upon everyone,

<sup>6</sup> See Apologia, p. 288.

whatever may be his particular line of research . . . is a great and firm belief in the sovereignty of truth. Error may flourish for a time, but truth will prevail in the end. The only effect of error is ultimately to promote truth. Theories, speculations, hypotheses are started, perhaps they are to die; still, not before they have suggested ideas better than themselves. Thus better ideas are taken up in turn by other men, and if they do not yet lead to truth, nevertheless they lead to what is nearer to truth than themselves, and thus knowledge, on the whole, makes progress.

This side of Newman's teaching being apparently simply outside the reading of the Edinburgh reviewer, he has no misgiving in the hasty interpretations, which follow on the next page, of some very careful criticisms on Newman's part of certain philosophical theories which he considers have passed current too readily. The reviewer is looking for illustrations of Newman's wholesale credulity and contempt of reason, his indiscriminate acceptance of unproved assumptions, and he thinks he has found them. The reviewer writes as follows:

Locke . . . lays down a canon which condemns absolutely the Cardinal's doctrine of assent. 'There is one unerring mark,' he says, 'by which a man may know whether he is a lover of truth in earnest, namely, the not entertaining any proposition with greater assurance than the proofs it is built on will warrant.' Newman himself quotes this dictum, and argues against it that men do, as a matter of fact, form their judgments in a very different fashion. To most people, however, the fact that opinions are so manufactured is no proof that they ought to be so. To most people it seems plain that the practical necessity of making unverified assumptions, and the habit of clinging to them because we have made them, even after their falsity has been exposed, is a satisfactory explanation of the prevalence of error, but not a reason for acquiescing in it. It is useful, they hold, to point out how assumption has a perilous tendency to pass for proof, not that we may contentedly confuse assumption with proof, but that we may be on our guard against doing so. But such is Newman's dislike of 'reason' that he rejoices to find that the majority of mankind are, in fact, not guided by it. (p. 281.)

This passage, be it observed, is made the basis for the reviewer's remark which immediately precedes it that 'judged by ordinary standards, Newman's criteria of belief do seem incompatible with intellectual honesty.' See Yet Newman's criticism of Locke has an entirely different trend from the above account of it. One of his objections to Locke's view is largely one of terminology. His criticism runs as follows:

When I assent (he writes) to a doubtfulness or a probability, my assent, as such, is as complete as if I assented to a truth. It is not a certain degree of assent.<sup>9</sup>

He criticises the phrase 'degrees of assent,' then, not on the ground that beliefs have not many degrees of probability, or that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Idea of a University, pp. 471 seq. 
<sup>8</sup> The italics are my own.
<sup>9</sup> Grammar of Assent, p. 175.

assumptions should be clung to as tenaciously as certainties, but because it is the 'proposition' and not the 'assent' which is properly said to have degrees of certainty. 'I assent to a probability' is (he holds) an exacter form of expression than 'I have a probable assent.' This may be a refinement, but it has no relation to confusing assumptions or probabilities with certainties.

But apart from this, Newman maintains two positions of importance, neither of which the reviewer seems to have understood at all. One of them he considers that Locke himself partially recognised. 10 Newman maintains that moral proof may make a proposition so certain to us that the addition of yet further evidence cannot in fact increase the firmness of assent. For example, in the instance to which he frequently recurs—the conviction which any of us has that Great Britain is an island is based on an irresistible cumulus of moral proof. If one of us for the first time actually sailed round the island the evidence would be increased for him, as direct experiment affords stronger evidence than moral proof; nevertheless, Newman holds that it would be absurd and unreasonable to tell a man that he ought to give a higher degree of assent to the proposition after he has sailed round. He was certain before he sailed; he cannot if he tries be more certain after. Here there is no 'clinging' to 'unverified assumptions' of which 'the falsity has been exposed.' The point is that the proof is already so great that further verification is superfluous and cannot make the mind more certain. 'A hundred and one eye-witnesses,' he writes to William Froude, 'add strength to the inference drawn from the evidence of a hundred, but not to the assent which that evidence creates.'

But the most important point that Newman is making is more fully developed later in the book. He does hold against Locke that we may sometimes have a right to a certainty greater than we can justify by producible evidence. But he establishes his case by arguments and illustrations which his critic appears simply to have missed the force of. His position is contained in the following passages:

This I conceive to be the real method of reasoning in concrete matters;
... It does not supersede the logical form of inference, but is one and
the same with it; only it is no longer an abstraction, but carried out into
the realities of life, its premisses being instinct with the substance and the
momentum of that mass of probabilities which, acting upon each other
in correction, and confirmation, carry it home definitely to the individual
case, which is its original scope. . . . The mind is unequal to a complete
analysis of the motives which carry it on to a particular conclusion, and
is swayed and determined by a body of proof, which it recognises only as
a body, and not in its constituent parts. 11

<sup>10</sup> Grammar of Assent, p. 161.

In illustration of this position he returns to the instance already given—the grounds any of us have for believing that England is an island. He writes as follows:

We are all absolutely certain, beyond the possibility of doubt, that Great Britain is an island. We give to that proposition our deliberate and unconditional adhesion. • There is no security on which we should be better content to stake our interests, our property, our welfare, than on the fact that we are living in an island. We have no fear of any geographical discovery which may reverse our belief. We should be amused or angry at the assertion, as a bad jest, did anyone say that we were at this time joined to the mainland in Norway or in France, though a canal was cut across the isthmus. We are as little exposed to the misgiving, 'Perhaps we are not on an island after all,' as to the question, 'Is it quite certain that the angle in a semicircle is a right angle?' It is a simple and primary truth with us, if any truth is such; to believe it is as legitimate an exercise of assent, as there are legitimate exercises of doubt or of opinion. This is the position of our minds towards our insularity; yet are the arguments producible for it (to use the common expression) in black and white commensurate with this overpowering certitude about it?

Our reasons for believing that we are circumnavigable are such as these: first, we have been so taught in our childhood, and it is so in all the maps; next, we have never heard it contradicted or questioned; on the contrary, everyone whom we have heard speak on the subject of Great Britain, every book we have read, invariably took it for granted; our whole national history, the routine transactions and current events of the country, our social and commercial system, our political relations with foreigners, imply it in one way or another. Numberless facts, or what we consider facts, rest on the truth of it; no received fact rests on its being otherwise. If there is anywhere a junction between us and the continent, where is it? and how do we know it? Is it in the north or in the south? There is a manifest reductio ad absurdum attached to the notion that we can be deceived on such a point as this.

However, negative arguments and circumstantial evidence are not all, in such a matter, which we have a right to require. They are not the highest kind of proof possible. Those who have circumnavigated the island have a right to be certain: have we ever ourselves even fallen in with anyone who has? And as to the common belief, what is the proof that we are not all of us believing it on the credit of each other? And then, when it is said that everyone believes it, and everything implies it, how much comes home to me personally of this 'everyone' and 'everything'? The question is, Why do I believe it myself? A living statesman is said to have fancied Demerara an island; his belief was an impression; have we personally more than an impression, if we view the matter argumentatively, a lifelong impression about Great Britain, like the belief, so long and so widely entertained, that the earth was immovable and the sun careered round it? I am not at all insinuating that we are not rational in our certitude; I only mean that we cannot analyse a proof satisfactorily, the result of which good sense actually guarantees to us. 12

Newman's inference from all this is that the fact that a man finds he cannot bring out to his satisfaction proofs of revelation equal to the strength of his conviction does not in itself prove that he

12 Grammar of Assent, p. 294.

ought to abate the strength of his belief. His grounds may be adequate. He may be conscious of their adequacy. Yet their details may be partly forgotten, or he may be unequal to their full analysis. What conceivable relationship has this view to any attempt to justify 'clinging' to 'unverified assumptions' after 'their falsity has been exposed'?

As far as I can see the *Edinburgh* reviewer has not understood any one of the three points for which Newman is contending

in his criticism of Locke.

But he does in part understand the doctrine of the 'illative sense' which is implied in this last criticism of Newman's on Locke, and calls it—not very happily—'personalism.'

The reviewer apprehends Newman's contention that the whole of a man reasons—that the process includes the use he makes of feeling and imagination, as well as of logic. It is the whole person that reasons, and decides on the outcome of his reasons, and therefore the reviewer calls the theory 'personalism.' He does not, however, take notice of an equally important part of Newman's theory, viz. that the living mind to which he appeals as final arbiter weighs all the relevant evidence, explicit as well as implicit; that it takes into consideration all its own past personal experiences, sometimes incommunicable to others, without, however, failing to weigh also the relevant external evidences which are accessible to all men alike. Newman's doctrine is, therefore, much more comprehensive than what the reviewer credits him with in his description of 'personalism.' Moreover, there is no justification whatever for his statement that Newman sometimes identifies 'personalism' with 'conscience' (p. 278). He treats conscience as supplying certain first principles indispensable to religious inquiry, and it thus takes an important part in the informal reasoning and assent which the reviewer calls 'personalism'; but an occasional factor in the process is not the process itself.

How inadequately the reviewer has grasped Newman's account of the 'illative sense' may be seen from the following really amazing sentence which purports to be a reductio ad

absurdum of Newman's view :

What kind of knowledge is it which is acquired, not by the exercise of the discursive intellect or by the evidence of our senses, but by the affirmations of our basal personality? (p. 282.)

The reviewer does not appear to see that Newman's theory rests, not on any disposition to dispense with the exercise of the discursive intellect, or with the evidence of our senses in dealing with the field of knowledge as a whole, but on his observation of the fact that more evidence is very often present

to the Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri individual mind than the discursive intellect explicitly recognises. The explicit operations of the intellect are not to be ignored, but to be supplemented. When an experienced general draws conclusions from what his senses and his discursive intellect bring home to him as to the operations of the enemy, he takes account also, in estimating the significance of the facts and deciding what counter-move will be wisest, of the subconscious knowledge which his own long military experience has given him, and which materially aids in bringing him to a right conclusion. To the faculty which takes in, as by an instinct, all the relevant considerations of which the mind is conscious and subconscious, and draws its own conclusions from them, Newman gives the name of 'illative sense.' So little does the reviewer understand this that he proceeds naively to object that 'the legitimate province of "personalism" lies in the region of general ideas, or rather in the Weltanschauung as a whole,' and not in matters to be decided by evidence. That is to say, he has simply missed the most characteristic part of Newman's theory-namely, that the mind in reasoning in concrete matters sums up instinctively the whole of the relevant evidence of which its multiform experience has made it aware. I can imagine a person possibly deriving the reviewer's bald and inadequate impression from glancing at an isolated page of the Grammar of Assent, because the subject is naturally treated bit by bit, and there are pages which deal with the mind's decision and not with its action in summing-up the evidence. But how anyone can read the argument through and preserve such an impression passes my understanding.

The reviewer remarks that "" personalism" is beyond question a self-sufficient, independent, individualistic doctrine.' I should go further. If personalism were regarded by anyone, as the reviewer supposes it to be regarded by Newman, as a method of reasoning independent of the careful scrutiny of really relevant evidence, as a magical power which can decide without weighing proofs pro and con 'whether Christ was born in Bethlehem or Nazareth or whether Nestorius was a heretic' (p. 282), I should call it the theory of a fool. Or again, if the doctrine of 'personalism' ignored (as he supposes) the co-operation of one mind with another in the search for truth, it would be equally absurd. But to make either supposition in the case of Newman is simply to ignore a side of his teaching quite as prominent as that which the reviewer notices. His position is, as I have already pointed out, that knowledge and accuracy in the field of facts is attained to entirely by the co-operation of

No doubt he does hold that there are some conclusions which many minds.

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a given man may reach with certainty without examining evidence which may be brought against them-even though that evidence may appear to others very strong. This arises from the nature of the cases in point. The man in question has evidence which the others have not: and this evidence is by itself decisive. He gives the instance of evidence for a serious charge brought against a friend intimately known to us. circumstantial evidence against our friend may appear very cogent to the world at large to which he is unknown, yet to us who know him intimately the certainty may remain (even before examining the evidence) that the charge is false, as being simply incompatible with his character. A charge of gross fraud against Mr. Pickwick, or of a theft and brutal murder against William Dobbin, would rightly be dismissed with confidence by their friends, however suspicious the circumstances might appear to the world at large. Circumstantial evidence of the charge almost conclusive to the world that does not know them personally would have no weight against our personal knowledge.

Again, such personal knowledge may be common to many. Most educated people know enough to make them certain that India really exists and may decline to weigh evidence brought against its existence by a crank, before they have succeeded in marshalling sufficient proofs to justify their certainty, without incurring the charge of being indifferent to the value of the

discursive reason or of dispensing with evidence.

How far the sphere of such personal knowledge extends, and how far the sphere of knowledge extends in which the co-operation of minds and the scrutiny of all alleged evidence is essential, is a further question on which it would be impossible to give in a few lines the outcome of Newman's treatment, which runs to hundreds of pages. The general conclusions on matters of religion which Newman holds to be justifiable by his principles are given in the last chapter of the Grammar of Assent. main object here is to point out that the reviewer has entirely ignored elements in Newman's teaching quite as prominent and important as those which he in part recognises, and has turned Newman's very careful, though tentative, process of psychological investigation into an ingenious defence of credulity based on theoretic scepticism. If Newman had held the crude theories expounded in the Edinburgh Review he certainly would not have been a thinker of exceptionally acute intelligence, but rather the reverse. His analysis of reasoning on religion and his theory of assent speak a language which his critic has simply not understood, though he is quite unsuspicious of the fact. The word 'reason' is more than once used by him and by his critic in entirely different senses. But the reviewer is too hot and angry to notice this, and plods on. In reading his remarks, so conDigitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

temptuous and so ludicrous in their failure to enter into the mind of the man he abuses, the present writer was forcibly reminded of the hearty contempt of the British soldier, in the days of the wars with 'Boney,' for the Frenchman and all his ways. 'Those damned Frenchies, not content with jabbering in an absurd lingo, call things by their wrong names. Everyone knows that a "shoe" is a "shoe," but these French frogs will call a cabbage a "shoe"!

I ought, however, to notice the one point on which it may fairly be argued that Newman's view of reason was for a long time open to the charge of scepticism-namely, his language on first principles. He was so impressed by the intellectual weakness of cutting the Gordian knot of philosophical difficulty by claiming a number of favourite principles as 'self-evident,' that for a long time he was apt to speak of all first principles as 'assumptions.' To the end he deprecated being over-ready to call truths 'self-evident.' As he humorously put it, people called them self-evident 'because they were evident in no other When, however, Professor Fairbairn pressed home against him in his extreme old age the charge of a sceptical view of the human reason he repaired this omission. It would have been to contradict his lifelong use of language to employ the term 'reason,' as Hamilton does, for the locus principiorum, or facultyof first principles. But he expressly admitted in his reply to Dr. Fairbairn that the mind has such a faculty. That faculty extends, he points out, beyond the region of religious first principles, with which he had already dealt in his treatment of the Conscience and Moral Sense. It 'includes intuitions, and this is what Aristotle calls vovs. 13

The reviewer, in the only passage in which he gives an idea of part of Newman's theory which he is good enough to regard as 'not in itself unreasonable,' deprecates the 'monstrous superstitions' it is used by him to justify. He is evidently under the same impression as Dr. Abbott, that the *Grammar of Assent* is concerned with establishing principles which may enable Newman to believe miracles which the reviewer would consider preposterous. And possibly this accounts for the extreme suspiciousness with which he regards Newman's words. He touches them gingerly and will not stay too near them lest he may be infected.

I cannot imagine anyone who reads the Grammar of Assent carefully entertaining such an idea of its object. The book is a sequel to the University Sermons, and Newman expressly tells us in the Apologia that those sermons were the beginning of an inquiry into the ultimate basis of religious faith prior to the

distinction into creeds.' The whole burden of the argument in both works is concerned with justifying this fundamental belief in Christ's message to mankind, and not with any distinctively Roman Catholic position. The question of belief in miracles involves considerations so special that Newman devoted to it a separate essay, in which he carefully points out exactly how far his principles apply to them. And he summarised his argument when replying to Kingsley in the Apologia. I am not concerned with justifying all his personal beliefs as to individual alleged miracles, which varied somewhat at different periods of his life, but, on the whole, it seems to me that the attributes that Mr. Hutton singles out of 'candour and reasonableness,' of 'sobriety and discrimination,' in his treatment are deserved by the second Essay on Miracles (which gives his final position on the subject), and that of excessive credulity is an absurd charge if made by one who believes miracles to be possible at all. Anyone who knows the essay will recollect that he does not in it seek to establish the miracles he reviews as being provable by the principles applied in the Grammar of Assent to our belief in revelation; that is to say, by personal reasoning more various and more cogent than we can adequately express. He treats miracles as entirely a question of evidence—first for the alleged fact, secondly for its being outside the ordinary course of nature, and on this second point he considers that modern science makes it probable that natural causes account for various facts previously regarded by Catholics as supernatural (Apologia, p. 303). The chief argumentative point which may be drawn from his essay is that those who already do believe in the Incarnation and the miracles of the New Testament are often such loose thinkers as not to recognise the full extent of their concession. A number of the objections which make modern miracles so absurd and incredible in their eyes that they will not look at reasons alleged for them apply quite equally to the Miraculous Draught of Fishes or the Multiplication of the Loaves. Newman does therefore contend strongly that it is unreasonable for a believer in the Miracles of the New Testament to indulge in an excessive a priori incredulity as to the bare possibility of alleged miracles in our own time, which is reasonable enough for a man who accepts no miracles at all. Beyond this his controversy does not go.

I will add just a word on one of the specific 'monstrous superstitions' alluded to by the reviewer. He twice intimates his own scorn and Kingsley's at an educated man being able to believe (as Newman did) in the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples. Ignorance is the close ally of scorn, and the reviewer is evidently unaware that the fact of its liquefaction has been admitted by agnostic men of science who have examined

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri the evidence, as well as by Catholics. In the *Rendiconti* of the Academy of Sciences of 1890 may be read the theory advanced by one of these, Professor Albini, of Naples, to account for the liquefaction. The point pressed home, on the other hand, by Professor Albini's critics is that he has been unable himself to produce any such liquefaction elsewhere.

Many, I think, will read with interest the following description of the phenomenon in question kindly placed at my disposal by a member of a profession well accustomed to weigh evidence,

the present Lord Llandaff:

I have twice witnessed the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. The first time was in January 1848. Italy was then in a state of wild political excitement. The recent election of a 'liberal Pope' had raised expectations of great changes in the government of the States of the Church. Even in Naples the words Viva Pio Nono were scrawled in chalk upon every dead wall in the city. There were not wanting persons among the conservative classes who predicted that St. Januarius would show his displeasure at these manifestations of opinion, and that the liquefaction would not take place. When the day arrived, the church was crowded to excess with lazzaroni, working-men, and their wives. The priest who carried the reliquary advanced to the rails separating the chancel from the nave. He stood on a level some two or three feet above the nave. The coagulated blood is contained in a small phial which is fixed upright within a glass cylinder about eighteen inches long, provided with handles projecting from each end of the cylinder. Holding these handles, the priest lifts up the cylinder in view of the whole congregation, and inclines it first on one side and then on the other, so that if any liquefaction of the black clot in the phial took place, the flow of the liquid this way and that would be plainly visible. He repeats this operation every minute, while the cathedral clergy around him are earnest in prayer. On this January day, 1848, this uplifting and swaying of the glass cylinder continued for about an hour without the slightest change. The black clot in the phial remained solid and immovable. It is well known that the Neapolitan populace regard the non-liquefaction of the blood as portending some disaster to them and to their city-pestilence, famine, or war. Accordingly during this long interval of suspense there were heard groans and sobs from all parts of the church, and ultimately there were passionate execrations and curses loud and unseemly to English ears in the sacred edifice. At last, without any change in the surrounding circumstances, in the twinkling of an eye, the uplifted phial was full of a blood-red liquid which flowed from side to side as the cylinder was tilted.

The second time I saw the liquefaction take place was on the 12th of September 1875, in the same church. I was in the company of Mr. J. N. Higgins, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn and a Protestant. We were fortunate enough to get places in the chancel close to the priest who held the glass cylinder and dealt with it in the way above described. But on this occasion the black clot in the phial liquefied after a few minutes. The liquid was dark brown, as it seemed to me, and not bright red. Mr. Higgins and I

both had a close view of this change from solid to liquid.

I repeat, however, that such beliefs as that in the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood, which Newman shared with others who have examined the evidence, and which those who have not examined it denounce as absurd superstitions, are not justified in his writings by the theory of 'personalism,' which the reviewer criticises, but by a candid and unbiased examination of evidence open to all. Newman, no doubt, holds that a believer will see God's hand where an unbeliever looking at the same facts does not see it, for the simple reason that the facts do not by themselves suffice to prove that there is a God at all, or that miracles are provable even by any amount of testimony. These are more fundamental questions than that to which the evidence relates, and other considerations are relevant to their solution. All that Newman demands in the treatment of alleged miracles is the belief that miracles are not antecedently improbable, and a candid and impartial scrutiny of the evidence in the particular case. He would not have hoped to convince a reviewer who does not look at the evidence, but he would not on this account have felt convicted of intellectual inferiority. He would probably have replied to such an a priori dogmatist, 'there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'

But while the Edinburgh article is, as Mr. R. H. Hutton said of Dr. Abbott's Philomythus, 'poisoned by suspiciousness,' which has made the reviewer find in Newman the tricky and credulous mind he is looking for, there is another fact to be remembered in accounting for such an article being possible at Newman's treatment of the philosophy of fundamental religious belief was avowedly tentative, gradual, and never reduced to scientific form. The premature definition sometimes involved in fixed scientific terminology is (he held) apt to prejudge or confuse essential distinctions which only become manifest gradually in the course of an inquiry. The full title of the Grammar of Assent marked its quality as only the beginning of a beginning—an 'Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent.' 'In deep subjects which have not been fully investigated,' he writes of the University Sermons, 'I said as much as I believed and about as far as I saw I could go, and a man cannot do more; and I account no man a philosopher who attempts to do more' (Apologia, p. 322).

These characteristics of Newman's philosophical writing make such an article as that in *The Edinburgh Review* possible. For one can criticise expressions which need explanation, and ignore the explanations given or implied elsewhere in his writing. And the average reader does not know enough of Newman's writings to find out the method employed. But the characteristics which make such a course possible make it the more unjustifiable and unprofitable. If ever there was a case in which no discussion is worth while which is not preceded by a serious endeavour to enter into the writer's mind and grasp his main

drift, it is the case of such essays as those of which I speak. Newman invites corrections of and additions to his partial expression of a deep theory. To seize instead on isolated phrases in his essay apart from their context and criticise them as though they were formal and final propositions standing by themselves, while the general argument is passed by altogether, is obviously as unjust as it is absurd. What the use of such an article is it is hard to conceive. Frederick Ozanam once said that some writings are designed to convert your opponents: others only to gratify the passions of your own party. Whatever may be the object of the article I am reviewing, its result can only be the latter. There are doubtless many who share Kingsley's antipathy to Cardinal Newman's mentality, and it may gratify them to read an account of his teaching which makes it irrational and shallow, and identifies all his positions with a defence of absurd credulity. If it is well to gratify such readers at the expense of omitting all attempt at accuracy, then the reviewer has done well. As a serious contribution to the consideration of the value of what Newman held and taught the article is worthless, for the simple reason that its writer has apparently taken no trouble to ascertain or understand either. The added note of intellectual contempt on the part of the critic is in these circumstances positively sublime, and recalls the attitude of the Chinaman of our youth towards European civilisation.

I have not failed to note the polite words regarding Cardinal Newman's virtues with which the *Edinburgh* article terminates. So also to the nastiest criticisms on Miss Myrtle, in the late Lady Dufferin's famous song, is appended the reminder 'but

she's really a charming woman.'

WILFRID WARD.

## RIVAL LAND POLICIES

## A REPLY

To the Nineteenth Century of last month the Marquess of Lincolnshire contributes an article under the above heading. It is evident that before any decision can be arrived at as to the merits of two schemes, the particulars of each of them must be fairly and fully set forth. The noble Marquess says that there is no difficulty in describing the Unionist land policy, though in his description of it he takes many and great liberties with facts. With regard to the Government land policy he is more reticent, saying only—quoting Lord Crewe—that it is sufficiently indicated in the measures which the Government had passed into law.

It would be well, therefore, to examine and compare the two policies: that of the Unionist party as defined in the utterances made and the pledges given by the Unionist leaders, and that of the Coalition Government as 'indicated by the measures passed into law.' The first of these measures is the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1906, which no doubt, in the interests of the agricultural community, is a great improvement on the Act of 1900. The next is the Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1907.

The noble Marquess in the article referred to states that the policy of the Liberal party is to give the farmer security of tenure as being all that he really needs: but he omits to say how that condition is to be secured. This oft-repeated phrase, 'Security of tenure,' is a favourite one—a catch-phrase for popular consumption. On reflection, it will have to be admitted that it passes the wit of man to frame a measure to give security of tenure without doing grave injustice to either landlord or tenant. An attempt was made in Ireland to secure this tenure by a system of dual ownership, but it had to be abandoned as being disastrous to all concerned. Security of tenure, together with freedom of cultivation and other advantages, can only be secured by making an occupier his own landlord.

In the Act of 1907, referred to above, no attempt was made to carry out what Lord Lincolnshire declares is the 'Liberal policy.' Under that Act there is no security either of rent or Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tenure. The occupiers are simply yearly tenants, holding at the will of county councils. The councils have bought land to the tune of 2,493,121l., every penny of which will have to be paid by the unfortunate tenants, who will not possess a yard of the land for which they will have paid hard cash. The Act is a distinct step towards land nationalisation, and during its passage through the House was openly and heartily welcomed as such by the socialistic supporters of the Government. It is not nationalisation by honest purchase, but by a method of 'sweating' the tenants of which the authors of the Act, who pose as friends of the agricultural labourers, should be heartly ashamed.

The Agricultural Holdings Bill recently introduced by Lord Lucas is, I presume, another of the measures which 'indicate

the policy of the Liberal Government.'

That Bill is the outcome of the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Marquess when he was at the head of the Agricultural Department. The Committee was to consider what legislation, if any, was necessary to protect tenants whose farms were to be sold over their heads through the breaking up of estates. The chief recommendation of the Committee, which was supported by the evidence of all the witnesses who were practical farmers, was that to tenants who were in the position named, State aid should be given to enable them to acquire the freehold of their holdings. The Bill of Lord Lucas totally ignores this recommendation; but Lord Lincolnshire prides himself that the Bill proposes 'to give farmers whose holdings are to be sold the right to claim an extended notice enabling them to remain on their farms for two years at least from the date of the notice to quit,' which, he says, 'will go far to mitigate the hardships incurred,' etc. It is difficult to understand how Lord Lucas and the noble Marquess could propose such a Bill. They could only do so on the assumption that British farmers could easily be duped and be satisfied by the shadow instead of Whatever minor advantages there may be in the substance. the Bill, if it is regarded as a measure for the relief of tenants in the cruel position which the Committee fully recognised they were in, it is such a sham as to be beneath contempt.

The vaunted extension of notice is an increased premium on bad farming. English farmers as a class are fair men, and from the love of their calling do not neglect the land even with the customary twelve months' notice; but this extension of notice is a sore temptation to a certain class of farmers to work out

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Report of the Board of Agriculture [Cd. 5110] reveals the enormous rents charged to the tenants, and in many cases the great profits made out of them by county councils under the operation of the Act. See also an important article on Small Ownerships, etc., by Sir Gilbert Parker in *The Fortnightly* of December 1909.

the land for two years, thus placing the landlord, or the purchaser, at the mercy of the outgoing tenant. The Act of 1906 affords little or no protection to either seller or buyer under such circumstances. In any case, it will be found that there is no instance on record in which a landlord has been able to recover any adequate compensation from an outgoing tenant; though that tenant might have depreciated the land to the extent of many pounds an acre—thus leaving to his successor two years'

dilapidation.

Lord Lincolnshire distorts Lord Lansdowne's speech on the Government Bill by making him appear to be opposed to the Unionist policy of purchase. What Lord Lansdowne said, and wisely said, was that 'it would be a misfortune to adopt some vast system of land purchase under which every occupant of a farm should be converted into a small landlord.' No Unionist ever made or contemplated such a proposition, which could never be carried out. Even in Continental countries, where the system of ownership prevails, there exist different sizes of farms and all kinds of tenure side by side. What the Unionists aim at is gradually-and it will be a gradual process with no compulsion in it—to secure for England what these countries have secured namely, such a number of peasant proprietors and yeomen farmers as will make them a potent factor in the economy of the nation, and able to guide and control land legislation. the only means by which the great wave of socialism now sweeping over the country can be arrested. At present agriculture is a negligible quantity, a subordinate factor, in the House of Commons. There are only three or four farmers in the House. The one farmer in the Government is made a Lord of the Admiralty, and a large shipowner is considered suitable enough for being President of the Board of Agriculture. Lansdowne, while rightly declining to commit himself to a 'wholesale and indiscriminate measure of land purchase,' was in favour of doing something in that direction for the relief of the class whose difficulties were under discussion.

With regard to the Unionist land policy, Lord Lincolnshire states that the official leaders are extremely cautious about the policy of ownership which, he says, they are pressed to adopt. The answer to this is that the Unionist leaders are pledged to carry out that policy as soon as they have the power to do so.

Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter to the Rural League (the 16th of

October 1909), writes:

I have no doubt that, while I still think Tariff Reform will be the salvation of the inhabitants of the towns, agricultural reform leading to the creation of a peasant proprietorship is necessary for the agricultural labourer, and is, indeed, the only plan by which the problems affecting him chiefly can be properly dealt with.

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Mr. Balfour, in his speech of the 22nd of September 1909, said:

I have always been one of those who have ardently desired to see the ownership of agricultural land distributed in an incomparably greater number of hands than it is now. There is no measure with which I am more proud to have been connected than that which has had the effect of giving peasant ownership on a large scale to Ireland, and I hope to see a great expansion of such ownership in England. Nothing can be more desirable, nothing can be more important.

He goes on to say that a feeling of ownership and nothing else can make small holdings a success. Mr. Balfour adds:

I look forward with hope and eager expectation to a time when a Government may come in, not hampered, clogged, and bound by socialistic crotchets, and may adapt to the very different conditions of life in this country what a Unionist Government have already done with such marked success for the sister island.

Lord Lansdowne, in a speech at Bowood, expressed his belief that:

Land should be as widely distributed as possible, and those who get possession of land should own it, not as tenants from the nation, but as their own property. That is the ideal of the party to which I have the honour to belong.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in a speech in February 1909, said:

I ask that the State may lend the capital by which the cultivator may acquire the ownership of his farm. I ask you to place before those who are on the land, working as tenants or as labourers, the prospect, with the encouragement of the State and to the measure that the State can afford, of becoming owners if they wish.

Mr. Bonar Law, the present Leader of the Unionist party, in December 1911 expressed the same views. He said:

Generous as we have been to Ireland, there is no reason why we should not be just to England and Scotland. Among the reforms which are most needed in this country is an increase in the number of small owners who cultivate the land of this country. That is a reform in which my predecessor as Leader in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour, has always taken the greatest interest, but an interest not stronger than that which I feel. I believe that a great deal could be done to improve not only the condition of the people who are now in the country, but to improve the condition of the masses in the towns by preventing the overflowing in of men from the country to compete in the towns. I believe that a great deal could be done by encouraging small holdings, not as this Government pretend to encourage them, by making the small holder the tenant of the State-not the best, but often the worst, of landlords-but by making him his own landlord, by giving him what in every country has always proved the only successful method, by giving him the pride of ownership which is the one stimulus of it.

In the face of such decided utterances as these, it behoves Lord Lincolnshire to withdraw his statement—which he cannot justify—that the Unionist leaders are 'pressed to adopt the policy of ownership,' which, as these speeches show, they have fully

adopted.

The noble Marquess says that there is no analogy between the agricultural problem in Ireland and that of England, through the Irish tenants doing their own improvements, etc., and thereby acquiring an interest in their holdings. To this extent the analogy no doubt fails; but the principle is the same as regards purchase in both countries. That principle is that the State should assist the tenant in buying what the landlord wishes to sell, whether it be in England or in Ireland. The Irish Act of 1903, for the purpose for which it was intended, is proved to be an unqualified success. It has finally settled the land question, which was the real root of Irish discontent. That, from a national point of view, is of inestimable importance, and is worth any money loss that might occur. So long as Ireland remains a part of the United Kingdom under the Imperial Government, and Irish farmers are not hindered in the striking regularity with which they are repaying the advances made to them, there seems to be no possibility of the British Exchequer suffering any loss.

This Ministry, however, is like that described by one of the greatest of British statesmen—'A Government of high philosophy and of low practice'; and it is quite possible that they may by legislation, dictated by their Nationalist masters, destroy the security on which the Act of 1903 is based, and with it the social and economic advantages which the operation of the measure has

bestowed on Ireland.

Lord Lincolnshire dwells on the necessity of requiring that the tenants in case of purchase should pay down a portion of the purchase money; but no answer in this article is required to that contention, seeing that he and his Government are opposed to ownership in any shape or form. The issue, therefore, between the two rival policies is whether land reform in this country shall be on the lines of tenancy or ownership. The statements the noble Marquess makes with regard to the position of Continental countries whose tenure is based on ownerships are by no means On the authority of a professor at the supported by facts. French Institute, whose name I am unable to find in the official list of professors, he states that 'Of the eight million proprietors in the country, three million are on the pauper roll'; and that most of the others are not much better off. There is an audacity in these statements that would cause astonishment and some amusement on the part of statesmen and official authorities in France. It is known that a very large portion of the French 'Rentes' is held by peasant proprietors. It is admitted with pride that it was the occupying owners-large and small-that enabled France at the end of the war to pay off so promptly the German fine of 200 millions sterling, and enabled her to recover her prosperity so rapidly. A French ex-Minister in his Report spoke of 'those laborious peasants who are counted by millions, and who constitute one of the greatest forces of the country.' The late Minister of Agriculture, M. Ruau, was more emphatic still on this point. One of the greatest of all authorities on French agriculture states:

The peasant becomes more and more the proprietor of the soil he cultivates; he is one of the most solid pillars of the State, on which social order rests; and his savings constitute the financial power of France.2

At a meeting of the Association of Bankers held last year, Viscount Morley stated that 'the accounts opened in French Rentes were 4,630,000, representing an average of 200l. apiece. In this country we had only 144,378 accounts opened in Consols, and the average value of these represented 3684l.' Lord Morley added 'this was a very serious social fact, and not a very comfortable one.'

It is, however, with regard to Denmark that Lord Lincolnshire's statements are most misleading. On the authority of a writer on Danish agriculture, he states that though the peasant proprietors of Denmark are nominally freeholders, they are saddled with a mortgage debt of sixty millions sterling. This debt, however, is not a mortgage. It is the outstanding part of the amount advanced to Danish tenants to enable them to become their own landlords-an amount repayable, with interest and sinking fund, over a period of years fixed at fifty years as a minimum, and one hundred years as a maximum. though no doubt an indebtedness, has nothing akin to mortgage, because the principal is payable by instalments and can never be called in; the interest cannot be raised; the tenant becomes a freeholder the moment the agreement is signed; and after the prescribed number of years all payments cease.

About a century ago the land of Denmark was held principally by a few large proprietors, and the country was in a bad way; but by successive Acts of legislation it became so distributed that at the present time above 90 per cent. of the occupiers of holdings

own the land they till.

In 1905 the Irish Board of Agriculture sent a deputation for the express purpose of ascertaining the agricultural condition of Denmark. The Board published a valuable report of the proceedings of the deputation. This report states that the present wealthy condition of Denmark is attributable to 'peasant proprietorship, rural education, and co-operation,' and also states

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Discours de M. Tisserand, Président de la Société Nationale d'Agriculture (Chamerot, Paris).

on good authority that peasant proprietorship has undeniably been the solution of the land question in Denmark, and the great impetus to the national prosperity of that country. The report gives a glowing account of the flourishing state of the agricultural villages and towns, where, it adds, the social conditions of men, women and children were most satisfactory—'sobriety remarkable, and no real poverty existing.'<sup>3</sup>

These statements are fully borne out by the annual Budgets and official reports of the Danish Government. Denmark has a small population of about 2\frac{3}{4} millions, considerably less than that of Yorkshire. Out of an annual revenue of less than six millions sterling the Government devotes the comparatively immense sum of a quarter of a million annually to the promotion of agriculture. Perhaps the greatest sign of the prosperity of the people of Denmark is the fact that about forty-one millions sterling—equal to about 15l. per head of the whole population—are invested in savings banks.

With regard to the Government's Agricultural Holdings Bill now before Parliament, the Central Chamber of Agriculture, which is an association of all the principal Chambers in England, met on the 4th of June to consider that measure. The meeting did not agree with the opinion of Lord Lincolnshire as to the value of the Bill to tenant farmers. It declared the provisions of the measure to be totally inadequate for the needs of farmers, and after a full discussion passed a resolution rejecting the Bill and asking for immediate legislation to enable tenants to buy their farms by the aid of State loans. The noble Marquess should take

note of this, as it upsets his most telling arguments.

Lord Lincolnshire makes some scornful reference to Sir Gilbert Parker, Mr. Ellis Barker, and myself, as a 'trio of townsmen' presumably with no practical knowledge of land and agriculture. The former two gentlemen can take care of themselves. With regard to myself, his remarks would be offensive but for the fact that, though the noble Marquess is known to be given to political posturing, his attacks are always based on good-nature and free from any ill-will, and can therefore be treated leniently. At the time when the ancestors of the noble Marquess were honourably engaged in other occupations my ancestors were working on the land, where they have been in an unbroken line from the time of the Conqueror-first as peasant proprietors, and, after being ousted from that position by unjust laws, as agricultural labourers. It might possibly be the case, therefore, that I have inherited some of the 'inherent qualities of the soil,' made more useful by intimate experience of the conditions of life in towns, which are so closely connected with rural questions.

<sup>3</sup> Report published by Alex. Thom and Co., Dublin.

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Lord Lincolnshire speaks of our traditional system of landlord and tenant, which has, he says, succeeded in obtaining a larger return per acre than is the case in any other country. In both contentions he is hopelessly wrong. The system of landlord and tenant is a comparatively modern one: the 'traditional system' is that of ownerships, in the persons of peasant proprietors and yeomen farmers, to which classes the defence of England was always entrusted, and to which the making of the Empire is mainly due. As to the produce of the soil, the land under ownerships in Europe is subject to intensive cultivation, and produces twice at least the production of the soil of England.<sup>4</sup>

This is the reason why land in Continental countries is worth double or treble that of similar land in this country, and it is not difficult to prove that the price of land is a true gauge of the real

prosperity of a nation.

Lord Lincolnshire says that ownerships in England would deprive the farmer of his working capital: that they would be exploited by the money-lender, would lead to subdivision, to land jobbing, and ultimately to the resale of the holdings and to a return to a consolidation of estates. All these are trumped-up difficulties, every one of which is provided against by the 'Purchase of Land' Bill, which embodies the Unionist proposals. The noble Marquess derides the idea of the 'magic of ownership,' but though this has become somewhat of a hackneyed phrase, the principle it contains remains as sound and as true as when Arthur Young invented it. Finally, Lord Lincolnshire avoids the questions of depopulation, of overcrowding in the towns, of excessive emigration, and, above all, the greatest ill-omen that can be attached to the economy of any nation, that of a landless peasantry. JESSE COLLINGS.

<sup>4</sup> No doubt the average yield of corn per acre is larger than that of Continental countries. I had some communication on this point with the late M. de Laveleye, the eminent Belgian economist. He explained that the peasant owner cultivated in wheat land that would never be used for that purpose in England. He added that though the yield was often no more than ten or twelve bushels per acre, it paid the owner, but, of course, lessened the average yield.

## THE BLIGHT OF THE LAND TAXES 1

### WHY THEY MUST BE REPEALED

ALL readers of the daily papers will have noticed the very frequent references which continue to be made to the land-valuation and land-taxing clauses of the so-called 'People's Budget.' One day we read of the hard case of some small builder, required to pay what is facetiously termed 'increment value duty' on the sale of a newly-built house, even when he has made no profit whatever, or perhaps incurred a loss. Another day one hears of some preposterous undervaluation of old cottage property made by Government officials, with the object of extorting from poor and ignorant people, not likely to venture an appeal, a duty which is not properly payable at all. Often examples are quoted of buildingland rendered unsaleable, builders thrown out of work and ruined, while speculation in the erection of new houses is discouraged. As a result there is, of course, a growing scarcity of house-room in some localities, with a tendency for rents to increase. hears also of mortgages called in, which cannot be replaced, owing to the profound distrust among investors mainly caused by the financial gyrations of Mr. Lloyd George, and the onslaughts on property by the 'Single Taxers' and 'Robber-Socialists,' among whom may be reckoned the members of the 'United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values' and the Parliamentary The public has been startled by the Land Taxing Group. revelation that a swarm of new officials, some two thousand in number, has been appointed, without proper examination, at salaries which, with the attendant expenses, amount to not far short of half a million a year, solely to administer the landvaluation clauses of the 'People's Budget,' and to collect the new land taxes, microscopic in amount up to now. One hears, too, ominous murmurs about the huge expense and trouble cast upon owners of land and house property throughout the country, in furnishing information to the Government valuers, and in disputing their fantastic 'valuations.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The first article on this subject was published in The Nineteenth Century and After for September 1910, and the second in June 1911.

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But what one never does hear of is any trifling advantage whatever which can be claimed as a set-off against all this national trouble and loss. As yet the new land taxes bring in nothing worth mentioning. Answering a question by Mr. Pretyman in Parliament recently, Mr. Lloyd George had to admit that the whole produce of increment value duty up to the 31st of March last was only 6251l., and of undeveloped land duty only 31,293l.; while no less than 686,000l. had been spent up to that date in the cost of valuation alone.2 And it is doubtful whether this estimate includes all the attendant expenses. But anyhow, the net result is that every sovereign raised by the new land taxes cost the country eighteen sovereigns in hard cash to obtain! And this without reckoning the expenses thrown upon landowners. Although Mr. Lloyd George still affects to believe that the valuation may be completed in five years, at a cost of two millions, competent persons, not interested as he is in putting a roseate complexion on its future, think that twenty-five years would be much nearer the mark. If that is the case, it looks as if the direct cost of the valuation to the country, at half a million per annum, would be about twelve millions, and the indirect loss to land and house-property owners and builders many times as great, while pretty nearly all the country will get in return is—the precious valuation itself.

Mr. Lloyd George, when he forced the Finance Act of 1909-10 through Parliament, with the aid of his pocketed Irish party, held out that the Government would undertake the whole cost of the valuation, and declared that there would be no tax on any increment of value except what 'accrued to the land from the enterprise of the community, or the landowners' neighbours.' And this increment was to be 'strictly an unearned increment.' He foretold that the new taxes would be remunerative to the Exchequer. And he even had the inventiveness to assert that they would promote building operations. Found out as a romancer on all these points, to save his face he now seeks refuge in the new pretence that the precious valuation will compensate for all the hopeless loss and trouble of which he has been the principal cause.

But whether the valuation will be worth sixpence to anyone when completed (if ever it is completed) is a question to which the Government is much at fault for an answer. For when Mr. Lloyd George set about harrying the house and landowners and robbing them, and impoverishing the country at large by the freak legislation to which he has alluded with somewhat misplaced vanity as his 'own patent,' he does not appear to have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'Reversion duty,' another Lloyd George invention, produced up to the end of the last financial year the magnificent sum of 22,878l. This duty is assessed upon a different kind of valuation.

taken any trouble to find out what is the real value of the presumed sources of revenue which he was going to tax. All his estimates of yield have been wildly and ridiculously wrong. Evidently they were mere guesses, if he was telling the truth about the real tendency of his new taxation.

For what had he the right to expect as the annual yield of the increment value duty based upon the increment of value accruing to land sites by the 'enterprise of the community'? What is year by year the capital value of freehold and leasehold property changing hands by sale or on death, or newly leased for terms exceeding fourteen years, and thus becoming liable to this tax? The figures are not to be disentangled from any official documents to which the public has access. But however wide of the mark any assumed figures may be, no estimate, be it ever so much higher than it should, will help Mr. Lloyd George in the very least.

The safest basis of computation which I have ready to hand is to be found in Table 28, p. 34, of the fifty-fourth report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue. This table gives a list of 'Details of the Gross Capital Value of Realty subject to Estate Duty, of which the Department had notice,' from 1900 to 1911.

The total of all the items in the table for the year 1910-11 was in round numbers seventy millions. Taking the sites of houses and buildings at one-fifth of the combined gross value, and eliminating agricultural land and some other items not taxable for increment value duty, one arrives at a figure of about fourteen millions as the basis for assessment of that duty on property passing on death in the year in review. To this must be added a large sum for sales and leases of property not passing on death—say six millions more—making twenty millions altogether. And I think this is a liberal estimate.

Now the passing of the 'People's Budget' at once automatically threw down all real property values to a very large extent.<sup>3</sup> This was foreseen by all practical men, and is generally admitted by everyone except Mr. Lloyd George and his myrmi-

3 Table 28 shows that before Mr. Lloyd George's new land taxation was brought forward, the item 'Building Land' for eight consecutive years averaged 1,589,6741. Even in 1907-8 it reached 1,507,7631. But directly Mr. Lloyd George began tampering with land values the value of building land subject to estate duty sank at once in 1908-9 to 1,062,2251., in 1909-10 to 975,1181., and in 1910-11 to 772,5281. The average of the last three years is only 936,6271. This shows a drop of more than forty per cent., which fairly agrees with outside estimates. How does Mr. Lloyd George explain this? And are these figures unconnected with the attempt of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to value for estate duty and under the Finance Act at the same time, so as to cover up the apparent loss? For the gross valuation of all the items in Table 28 for 1910-11 is only 70,191,1511., which shows a decrease of more than fifteen millions from the valuation for 1907-8, a normal year before the Finance Act. This decrease is nearly equal to three-seventeenths, or more than 17½ per cent. Such an

dons. Therefore a large part of the twenty millions—perhaps as much as three-fourths—will show no genuine increment of value whatever. On these assumptions, what remains to be taxed? Five millions only.

However, the first 10 per cent. of increment value is not taxable. So that for any appreciable amount to be raised, with some semblance of honesty, by the new-fangled taxation, it is necessary that such part of the site values as becomes liable to increment value duty should at least show an increase of 20 per cent. Upon five millions this would be 1,000,000l. Only half of that amount would be taxable, and the Government's share is one-fifth—equal to the magnificent sum of one hundred thousand pounds, costing half a million to collect! Did Mr. Lloyd George ever make such a calculation as this for himself? Did he consult any expert? And if not, why not?

As every transaction in land or house property is now reported to the Inland Revenue Commissioners, they at least are in a position accurately to gauge the annual amount of genuine increment upon all site values. They have not made any estimate public, but it may be inferred, from the spirit and manner in which they are trying to administer the 'People's Budget,' that their view does not greatly differ from that which I have just set forth. For they have clearly given up all hope of getting any appreciable sum by way of taxation of genuine increment. Instead of confining their claims to duty upon whatever increment may have really accrued above and beyond site values honestly estimated. they are taking a line in direct contradiction to Mr. Lloyd George's assurances to Parliament and the public. They are doing their utmost to rake together a few misgotten sovereigns by demanding toll on a purely fictitious, and as they are pleased euphemistically to call it, a 'statutory' increment, which has no existence at all except in their valuers' imagination. This point shall be enlarged upon later on.

So much for the shadowy prospect of booty opened up by taxation upon increment values. Now let us see what plunder is to be expected from the 'Undeveloped Land Duty.' This, it is well known, is an annual tax of one halfpenny in the pound on the capital 'site value' of land which is not purely agricultural and is not 'developed' by buildings, or used for a bona-fide trade or business. The crude underlying notion, which the promoters of the 'People's Budget' put forward as the justification for this futile and irritating tax, was the gratuitous assumption that landowners in general are 'holding up' land from building, and that occurrence, in a period of general welfare and increase of wealth, appears to supply the measure of the disastrous effect of Mr. Lloyd George's policy upon land values.

all land not purely agricultural ought to be instantly built upon, or put to some business use.

It did not in the least matter to these wiseacres that both parts of this assumption are transparently false, and from a business point of view nonsensical. Here was a new way of annoying and fleecing owners of land and house property, so the Radicals and Robber-Socialists preached the doctrine in season and out of season, till they took in the silly section of the voters as well as themselves. They never reflected that all the capital in the country would not be sufficient to cover the vacant land with houses, even if the sites were given away free of cost, nor would all the population of Europe be sufficient to occupy the houses, could they be built. They never reflected that much of the land to be charged with undeveloped land duty can never get built upon at all. They never reflected that the market value of prospective building land is not nearly so constant as that of income-bearing property, and that although valuable, it cannot be accurately valued. They never reflected that if there is any small quantity of building land being 'held up' without justification, it is the easiest thing in the world for the State to buy it up at a reasonable price, and then retail it for building. And this, if the land taxers' contentions are true, should be a profitable operation. In fact, there was nothing genuine in the outery of the land taxers and Mr. Lloyd George their quondam prophet. For what the latter really tells the landowners in the 'People's Budget' is this: 'You landowners are extremely wicked to hold up your land as I allege you all invariably do, and not allow it to be used for building or trade purposes, as in my omniscience I say you ought. But all the same, you may "hold up" vour land as long as ever you like provided you let the State have a small share in your iniquity, by paying a tax of one halfpenny in the pound every year, upon an official bogus valuation of your property. Let us fine you simply for being landowners, and not doing what is both absurd and impossible, and we will let you off lightly for a while, until we want to rob you again.'

This is what has in effect been solemnly made law by the Finance Act of 1909-10, Liberal and Radical members of Parliament evidently not understanding the folly they were committing. But while the Bill passed through Parliament, adverse criticism enforced the introduction of certain checks and palliatives, which may go far to render the undeveloped land duty unfruitful, so long as it does not much exceed its present rate. For although it may here and there mulct a hapless landowner who possesses a few acres 'growing into building value,' of all his agricultural income, yet what is perhaps the chief anticipated source of plunder by this tax has been almost dried up by exemptions.

It was in the highest degree inequitable and absurd to impose the tax at all upon lands held by building companies and landdevelopers, who are naturally doing their utmost to get their land sold and built upon. But these properties, which comprise a great part of the most valuable 'undeveloped' land in the outskirts of towns, may be in large measure freed from undeveloped land duty by reason of the huge proportion of the 'total value' that is solely due to the improvements made by the owners. This proportion can be deducted from 'total values,' so as to reduce the 'assessable site value,' upon which the tax is levied, to a trifling amount. The district valuers are trying to minimise these deductions, but they are probably unimpeachable in a court of law. For the landowners can usually prove, to the satisfaction of any reasonable man, that it is their improvements which have given to the land almost the whole of its present value. Much land will be also freed under the clause of the Act exempting one acre for each 100l. expended on roads and sewers. And much land may also be freed if the plea is raised by the owners that it is 'used in the bona-fide business of land-development,' a business which seems to have been forgotten by the draftsman of the Act. Otherwise he would probably have put it on a par with the raising of food for the nation by agriculture, the only bonafide business which does not give complete exemption from undeveloped land duty.

So in the end this impost, from which so much was hoped by the Radicals and Robber-Socialists, appears likely to produce but a trivial amount, although at immense cost for valuation and quinquennial revaluation, and after causing continual annoyance

and loss to large numbers of taxpayers.

But, it may be objected, if neither increment value duty nor undeveloped land duty is going to take much actual cash out of the pockets of the owners of house property and land, why make

such a fuss about these taxes?

The answers to this are many. Remember, first, the enormous waste of time, energy, and money imposed upon the owners in furnishing information to the Government (although Mr. Lloyd George made a great show of promising to carry out the valuation entirely at the public cost), and also in resisting improper valuations. Remember, secondly, the huge depreciation in the capital value of all house property and land directly occasioned by the new taxes—a loss to the State as well as to the owners. Thirdly, the annual burden of about half a million thrown upon the general taxpayer for an undefined period, for salaries of superfluous officials and expenses attending the perfectly worthless 'valuation.' Fourthly, the moral canker widely spread by the false pretences under which the passage of the

Finance Act was secured, and the sharp practice with which it is being administered.

I have said that there is no 'set-off'—no compensation whatever. Let us examine what truth, if any, is to be found in the plea that, after all, in five years' time we shall have the great valuation, and that it will be of immense utility and worth. Shall we really have the valuation in five years' time?

Notwithstanding the immense staff of 244 permanent official valuers of different classes, and 1376 temporary valuers, draughtsmen and clerks solely employed in preparing the much-vaunted valuation, what has been accomplished so far? These figures were given in the fifty-fourth report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue. It is understood they have been increased since. Yet Mr. Masterman in the House of Commons, on the 1st of May 1912, only claimed that 1,799,468 provisional valuations had been 'made' in the three years up to the 31st of March lastthat is, about 600,000 per annum. But he declined to say how many had 'become final'—that is, agreed to by the owners probably only a trifling proportion, and mostly small house Now the number of hereditaments to be valued amounts approximately to cleven millions; but the Commissioners omitted to notice that a great number of these hereditaments will be subdivided into numerous parts, to be valued separately, at the request of the owners. For instance, one farm may be divided into twenty or more fields. One building estate may consist of a thousand plots of land or more, each to be valued separately. Thus the number of separate valuations may easily rise to twenty or thirty millions, or even more. If that happens, the rate of valuation must be accelerated by several hundred per cent., unless the whole process is to take nearer fiveand-twenty years than five.

And if the provisional valuations are not generally accepted by the owners, what will happen? Every owner has sixty days in which to object to any valuation. If he does not object, it is final, and binds the land for ever, however inaccurate it may be. But if the owner does object, the particular valuation is shelved for a quite indefinite period, or until the Commissioners pluck up courage to drag the owner before a referee. They have not shown much of this courage as yet. It is the Commissioners who have had to be dragged. It is quite illusory for Mr. Lloyd George to plume himself on the small number of appeals up to now. If but few cases have yet come before referees, it is because many provisional valuations have not been agreed to by the owners, and negotiations are still going on.

And what temptation is there for owners to agree? There are any number of outstanding points on the ambiguous language

of the 'People's Budget' awaiting settlement by legal decisions. As Mr. Pretyman said in a letter to the Press dated the 2nd of May last, on behalf of the Land Union: 'The lesson of this to all owners and professional men is to refuse to settle any valuation whatever until the real interpretation of this complicated statute has been finally decided in the courts.' Many of the disputed points may ultimately be settled in favour of the owners. The land-tax clauses may, and probably will, be repealed altogether. Nothing is gained and much may be lost by assenting to provisional valuations which in many flagrant cases have been shown to be 'cooked' in favour of the Revenue Commissioners, who are playing with loaded dice. Trustees, solicitors, and surveyors acting for beneficiaries and employers ought to be especially careful, as they may be held to account hereafter. If owners of house property and land flock like sheep to be shorn, by agreeing too promptly to the Commissioners' valuations, they will be simply playing into the hands of the land taxers against their own interest. Is it likely that as a body they will do so? they do not, within what time is the valuation going to be finished? What, in any event, is the use of Mr. Lloyd George prating about its being completed in five years?

We have seen that the valuation under the Finance Act will cost the country many millions, and that it is not likely to bring in one tenth part of the outlay-at any rate for years to come. And a great war, or even commercial decadence, might at any time further reduce land values enormously. From the point of view of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, then, the valuation will be worth less than nothing as an engine of fair and reasonable

taxation.

And now let us come to a second important point. Assuming the precious valuation to be some day finished, what will it be intrinsically worth to the public, as an estimate of genuine land Again, less than nothing. Here follow some of the values?

reasons why:

To begin with, the Commissioners' valuation, when made, will not be in any way a genuine estimate of the market value of land and house property as it really is. No one in his proper senses will go by it, either in buying or selling. The public expected that it would be a real guide to market value. But what it really will be is a mere mass of discordant guesses at hypothetical values of interests in property, which generally possesses no separate existence in the form in which it is assumed to be valued.

The very first words of Section 25 (Sub-section 1) of the Finance Act, defining what is there called for the first time 'gross value' (an expression hitherto unknown to surveyors) imply a possible fraud as well as several distinct hypotheses. possible fraud lurks in the words 'by a willing seller.' 'Gross value,' the statute lays down, 'means the amount which the fee simple of the land, if sold at the time ' (that is the date to which the valuation relates back, already three years ago) 'in the open market, by a willing seller, in its then condition' . . . 'might be expected to realise.' No one will ever know the meaning of the words 'by a willing seller' in this context until they are interpreted by the House of Lords. Some legal authorities think the words mean nothing, except that the property is presumed to be for sale; others hold that they mean a bargain price in a forced sale, as there is nothing said about a 'willing buyer'; while an 'open market,' especially a hypothetical open market. does not necessarily presuppose one even hypothetical buyer in the field. The latter interpretation is probably the one placed on the words of the sub-section by the framers of the Act, though they will very likely find they have overreached themselves. For the want of clarity of the expression 'by a willing seller,' as there qualified, means that no confidence can be placed in a single one of the valuations already made, or to be made, under the Act until the words have been authoritatively interpreted in the courts of law.

No doubt the framers of the Act, in their wisdom, thought that, when once it had passed into law, its taxpayer victims would bow to the inevitable, and allow themselves to be fleeced without protest. This is what usually happens when a piece of oppressive legislation is carried into effect. But there are some Acts of Parliament which are too bad, too dishonest, and too insupportable to be borne, and the Finance Act of 1909-10 is one of these. And the framers of the Act counted without the spirit of thousands of individual owners, who, very rightly, intend to take full advantage of any flaw in the Act, in self-defence. If the owners are in any event to be unfairly harried and worried and cheated, why should they deny themselves the pleasure of showing fight? And the fight is going to be very expensive in more senses than one, not only to the unlucky Liberal-Radical party, saddled with all the odium of an exasperating legislative fiasco, but also to any Government which attempts to administer the Act in future.

For this the Radicals may chiefly thank Mr. Lloyd George; but neither their other leaders nor the rank and file of the party have anything to be proud of. They have all touched pitch. Even Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey did not shine in their advocacy of Mr. Lloyd George's land-taxing programme. Their few public utterances showed plainly that they had not taken

the trouble to understand it. A medium, in one of Dickens's novels, being questioned about the peculiar spelling of a word which he gave out as dictated to him by the spirits, plaintively replied: 'It came to me "B-O-S-H."' Just so; the Lloyd George Land Gospel came to Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey and the Liberal-Radical party, 'B-O-S-H,' and faithfully they repeated it according to the original text.

To return now to the statutory definition of 'gross value,' whatever that expression really means, at any rate its purely hypothetical nature may be easily laid bare, as well as that of all the other so-called 'values' under the Finance Act. only in a small minority of cases, where the property actually is a 'fee simple in possession free from incumbrances and from any burden, charge, or restriction (other than rates and taxes), will the thing valued be the thing actually possessed by the owner who is to be subjected to taxation! And even then it is not real market value which is arrived at, except by accident.

Take an example: and to clear our minds, let it be a horse instead of a bit of land which is to be valued under the 'People's Budget.' There are few perfect horses in this world, and when an everyday horse is valued, it is not usual to begin by treating the animal as if it were wholly sound and without blemish. Yet that is the way land is valued under the Finance Act!

Imagine a screw hardly able to stand upon three legs, with a spavin, a blind eye, broken knees and wind. By analogy with the Finance Act system (see Section 25) you begin by valuing him as if he were a sound animal possessing all the attributes of a Derby-winner. This is the 'gross value' of the fee simple in possession free from all drawbacks. Then you consider what the animal might be worth if divested of shoes, tail, mane, and anything else it could part with and still live. This is called 'full site value.' Next you put yet another 'value' on the animal, never heard of before the Finance Act. And even this is not genuine market value-nothing so simple as that! Instead of exercising your judgment as to what the animal ought to sell for as he really is, you have to make elaborate deductions from the gross value, for the lameness, for the spavin, the blind eye, the broken knees, and the broken wind, and the result is called 'total value,' the third Lloyd George innovation. It is something in the region of pure hypothesis, and yet is to be the basis of land taxation.

For to 'arrive at a fourth Lloyd George invention'-'Assessable site value'-upon which duties will have to be actually paid, you have to make another set of deductions from 'total value.' First of all, you hark back, and again deduct, this time from the total value, the same items (shoes, tail, mane, &c.) as you did before to get full site value out of gross value. Secondly, you deduct any part of the 'total value' of the animal which you can persuade the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to be due to the expense of feeding it and breaking it in, as well as the cost of advertising it, unsuccessfully, for sale. Thirdly, any part of the total value which you may persuade the Commissioners to be due to your having at some time generously lent the horse to a neighbour free of charge. Fourthly, any part of the total value which you can make out to be due to your having bought out someone else's share in the animal, or to the goodwill of your business as a horse-coper; and lastly, any money the Commissioners may consider it would cost you to take off the shoes and dock the mane and tail.

By this time, I think my readers will agree with me that the 'assessable site value' of the horse, whether 'Bucephalus' or 'Rosinante,' will have about as much relation to his market value at any time of his career as the moon has to green cheese. Yet the valuation of land under the Finance Act is equally ridiculous. The whole process is perfectly incomprehensible. Nevertheless, every little owner of a cottage or a garden-plot is supposed to grasp the meaning of the series of complicated and hypothetical 'values,' of which he never heard before in his life, and if he does not employ a competent person to look after his interests, he will to a certainty be fleeced bare, and this by a Government Department!

No doubt Mr. Lloyd George and his familiar demons in the thieves' kitchen of the land-taxers had ulterior motives besides that of trying to filch ready money from the pockets of land-owners and house-property owners on any half-plausible pretext. And these ulterior motives are now beginning to leak out. The Finance Act is cunningly drafted, and although it was so much cut about in Parliament before passing, it is producing very queer and unexpected results.

It has always been remarked with surprise that although the Act was ostensibly brought in to tax only 'unearned increment,' yet that expression is nowhere to be found in it.

Over and over again the Chancellor and his party friends asserted most strenuously in and out of Parliament that increment value duty would only be levied 'where increment accrued to land from the enterprise of the community or the landowners' neighbours.' The Commissioners of Inland Revenue, however, do not hold themselves in any way bound by this, or any other of the Chancellor's lucubrations and declarations. Why does he not see that they do?

A strange thing happened in the course of the passage of the

Finance Bill through Parliament. After the Bill left the Committee stage, very considerable alterations were proposed on the 19th of October 1909 by Sir W. Robson, then Attorney-General, in the wording of Sections 2 and 14 (now 25), and were carried. 'Gross value' was then put into the Bill for the first time. Sir W. Robson said, 'The changes make no difference whatever. I say they make no change in the burdens on the subject or the deductions.' Mr. Balfour and Mr. Pretyman demurred, but were overruled. And on the 22nd of October Mr. Lloyd George said, 'There is no difference at all in substance. The same deductions are made and the same processes will be gone through by the valuers in order to ascertain what the taxable subject is.' Mr. Balfour asked, 'Is it merely a question of terminology?' and Mr. Lloyd George replied, 'Terminology.'

The late Attorney-General and Mr. Lloyd George have surely something to explain away or amend. For upon these very changes in the Bill, which they maintained were not substantial changes, are founded contentions by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue which are absolutely at variance with the solemn assurances given by these two Ministers of the Crown to procure

the passing of the Bill.

In January 1911 the Commissioners issued 'Instructions to Valuers,' founded on a strange interpretation of the Act as passed with the above-mentioned alterations, by which they direct that increment value duty should be claimed, not only where there has been an increase in value of the site, but wherever the property valued, or an interest in it, 'has actually been sold for more than it is worth at the time.'

That is to say, that for the purpose of raising some revenue, in a manner opposed to the whole ostensible spirit of the Act, the Commissioners, covering themselves under a strangely twisted reading of the Act as eventually passed, are arrogating to themselves a perfectly arbitrary power. They are actually claiming that they know better than local vendors and purchasers what the real value of any property is. And on the strength of this assumption, when they cannot find any excuse for charging increment value duty upon a real increase in the value of the site, they manufacture a fictitious one!

Let us consider a typical example. In the 'Richmond case,' which lately came before a referee, a little shop property in a small Yorkshire town, purchased many years ago for 500l., for which, on the death of the owner, estate duty was paid upon 500l., was shortly afterwards sold again for 500l. Could any better evidence be produced that the property was worth 500l., and no more or less? Yet on the last occasion of a sale the

<sup>4</sup> The case is well reported in the Land Union Journal of April 1912.

Commissioners produced a 'valuation' by one of their district valuers, in which the value was put at only 380l. And on the difference between this and the real sale price of 500l. the Commissioners had the audacity to ask for increment value duty amounting to 22l., although it was obvious that no profit whatever had been made out of the sale. Not only this, but they claimed that the 'site value' had increased in a few months by no less than 120l. Everyone knows that site value in sleepy old market towns does not progress by leaps and bounds; in fact, it just as often goes backwards. Yet the claim would have succeeded, as the owners, two ladies, had innocently let the time go by for appealing against the so-called 'valuation,' had not the Land Union, the only militant association of land and house property owners, come to hear of the scandal. The Land Union took up the case in Parliament, shamed the Government into conceding the appeal, and won the case before the official referee. And now the Commissioners are appealing to the High Court! Does not this offer a nice prospect to small-owners throughout the country whose properties are under-valued in similar fashion? Pay, or go to the High Court!

To let the public hear one single word about a shabby case like this, the Commissioners must be indeed at their wits' end to discover opportunities of claiming duty, by hook or by crook, under false pretence of increment value which does not exist. They actually had to admit in this case, before the referee, that the site had not in fact increased in value at all. What they were claiming duty on, they said, was statutory increment, a different thing indeed from Mr. Lloyd George's 'strictly unearned increment.' Was even ship-money a more arbitrary tax than this?

There were other grotesque features about the Government evidence before the referee. Their valuer admitted that he had not valued upon local knowledge. What he did was to figure out for himself an average value per square yard of floor-space, derived from sales of shop property in other localities, and then apply it to sleepy Richmond! And but for the Land Union, which employed a stenographer to record the proceedings, the public would never have been allowed to hear of the curious details of the case at all!

This 'Richmond' case is unhappily by no means an isolated instance of what looks extremely like attempted extortion. The Land Union is helping its members to fight many other test cases. Several have been already won before referees against the Government. Those which get before the High Court, when once decided, will settle the fate of great numbers of the Government valuations, past and future. The Land Union's legal com-

mittee has issued a pamphlet setting out the 'Important Questions arising under the Finance Act, which will have to be decided by the referees or the Courts.' These are no fewer than fifteen in number, and the list is increasing. Many of the disputed points are vital, yet the Commissioners seem in no hurry to get any of them settled authoritatively, but are trying to get valuations accepted by ignorant or careless owners, while the Courts have not yet had the opportunity of deciding these points. The valuations, nevertheless, once accepted, are final, however bad they may be. The Government has refused to allow them to be re-opened, and no wonder, for it is hardly likely that any but a small minority of the valuations alleged to have been already 'made' would bear the light of day before any impartial tribunal.

While this article was in the press a debate took place in the House of Commons, on the 20th of June, upon the motion of Mr. Royds for a reduction in the estimate for expenses of the Land Valuation Office. The closely reasoned speeches of Mr. Royds and of Mr. Pretyman, in support, were in marked contrast to the flabby and evasive defence of the Chancellor and Mr. Masterman. The Chancellor was forced to concede an inquiry by experts into the working of the valuation. This will be an invaluable committee, if it is not packed beforehand by the Government, and if the scope of its inquiry is not purposely narrowed.

Three years have now elapsed since the commencement of the Finance Act. All, and more than all, the adverse criticism passed upon it has been justified, while nothing whatever can be said in its favour.

Are not these considerations conclusive that all that part of the Act which is concerned with the new land taxes based on the so-called valuation ought to be completely repealed at the earliest possible moment, even if there were not the additional reason that the net financial contribution of these taxes to the State revenue appears likely to be always a minus quantity?

It is a pity the Liberal-Radical party does not itself repeal its failure, for the sake of its own reputation, if not that of the British Parliament; but this can hardly be hoped for. However, it is difficult to conceive any Unionist Chancellor of the Exchequer continuing to flog a dead horse like the Finance Act. He could get no honest revenue by it, and could earn nothing but odium and obloquy from his own party, not to mention the numerous Liberals and Radicals who are equally disgusted with the 'People's Budget.'

CHARLES NEWTON-ROBINSON.

# SOME FOREIGNERS IN SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND

Or those who are interested in the England of the past probably a greater number are attracted by Elizabethan times than by any other one period, and one of the points of view from which information may be gained is the visitors' point of view. Superficial and partial and uncomprehending as it is bound to be to a greater or less extent, there is a certain unusual perspective about it which brings out truths which would otherwise be dimmer, and every now and then with their help a fact or two comes to light to contribute to the sum total of research.

Now if anyone was wanting to inquire into this point of view as applied to this period, it is fairly certain that ninety-nine librarians in a hundred could direct him to no source but W. B. Rye's England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I., 1865. Mr. Rye was a British Museum official with plenty of friends, but his work can be supplemented with several accounts that escaped his notice, besides those that have been printed since, and the contemporary correspondence, of which no one can say that he has come to the end of it. With two of the more interesting visitors, Princess Cecily of Sweden and Jakob Sobieski, afterwards Marshal of the Polish Diet, I have dealt in my Touring in 1600. I therefore omit them now; beginning with Nathan Chytraeus. The latter's name was, indeed, known to Rye as the editor of a collection of inscriptions, some of which he had copied in England in 1586. But he also left an itinerary of his journeys in Latin verses, a few score of which describe his visit to London and Oxford. Unfortunately, these are one more example of the general rule that when an educated man of the sixteenth century had nothing to say he said it in Latin verse. It is worth while noting, however, his complaints about the extortionate dues exacted at the two ports which did practically all the cross-Channel business on the English coast: Rye, where he landed, and Dover, whence he departed. He gives no clue to the exact sum, except in saying that at Dover he 'was swindled out of gold.' That the dues were heavy to an unprotected foreigner is very probable, but at Dover he was very likely having property confiscated without knowing it. A few years earlier, at the

beginning of Queen Mary's reign, a Frenchman named Perlin found that a pedestrian might take no more than ten crowns, a horseman twenty, out of England, a French crown being equal to about 6s. English then, when money was worth, say, seven or eight times its present value. Two Germans, who came over in 1599 and 1618 (or soon after) respectively, give the limit as 10l. Now a foreigner who was careless about money matters might well avoid knowing these regulations, as did Erasmus, till too late. Yet it was entirely his own fault if he lost by them. It was the custom throughout Europe. While at Lyons, one of the chief travellers' centres, the limit went as high as 100 crowns (say, 180l. at present rates), at Rome, according to an edict of 1592, no more than five gold crowns (say 81.) were allowed to any one person departing, and from Spain no gold was permitted to go at all; indeed, Spanish towns frequently enforced this rule against each other. And so elsewhere according to circumstances. Moreover, remitting through merchants on paper could easily be arranged at an average cost of 10 per cent.; goods could be bought, taken across, and then realised; those who accompanied an ambassador, the most usual course for tourists then, were exempt from search, and finally, a clause of exemption up to some higher sum could be inserted in the passport by means of influence.

Money matters do not enter into the narrative of the next on the list, the Italian philosopher, Giordano Bruno. In fact, he never set about writing any narrative at all, but part of his

experiences came into print in this way.

Talking one day to Fulke Greville about his belief that the earth moved, it was agreed that on Wednesday week he should come to midday dinner at Fulke Greville's house, and afterwards discuss the question with learned men invited for the purpose. They were to be really learned and intelligent men, not such as Bruno had hitherto met in England, whose methods of reasoning seemed to him to savour rather of the ploughman. Taking this into account, it was all the more unfortunate that he arrived as late as he did, and all the more necessary, therefore, for everybody to know why he was too late. For this reason the second dialogue in his Ash Wednesday Supper ('La Cena de la Ceneri') consists not of Copernican reasoning, but of an account of a foreigner trying to find his way by night in London in 1584.

He prefaced the meeting in a characteristic way, omitting to keep the appointment because he had heard nothing further about it. He went to see some Italian friends and returned after sunset. At his door he found Florio and one 'Maestro Guin' awaiting him, to implore him to be quick and come, many gentlemen were awaiting his arrival, high-born and learned; so rare a company that it even included one whose name was identical with that of

the philosopher-errant—Brown. Well, said Bruno, let us start, and pray God be with us this dark evening through so long a journey; and the streets so unsafe.

All the way was a straight road, but to save time they went down to the river to go by boat. After waiting as long a time at the wharf by Lord Buckhurst's as would have sufficed to walk to their destination and attended to one or two other things as well, crying the while 'oars' ('id est, gondolieri'), two boatmen answered, and very, very slowly neared the bank, and after many questions and answers as to where, why, how, and how many, hove to at the steps, one looking like Charon; the other, his son, being only about sixty-five. Thereupon

. . . Gemuit sub pondere cymba Sutilis, et multam accepit limosa paludem.

Bruno said he now believed the tale of the Walls of Thebes being musical, so responsive were these timbers to the music of the waves; whereat they laughed, not without danger, for every least movement made itself heard throughout the boat and the sides gave wherever they were touched. To pass the time Florio sang (in memory of his love affairs) Il dove senza me dolce mia vita, and Bruno contributed Il saracin dolente. And much time there was to pass; for in spite of worms and age having reduced the boats to such a state that they ought to have moved like cork, they seemed, in fact, to be leaden ones rowed by broken arms, instead of with the long strong pull that a philosopher-errant has a right to expect of those who have the privilege of rowing him.

A third of the way through the boatmen turned to the shore. Why? Because they had reached their station. And from that decision they would not budge. After paying and thanking them, 'the customary thing in London when one receives illtreatment from the lower classes,' Bruno led the way up to the highway, or rather, thought the muddy track he spied was the way, but before he had finished saying 'follow me' his legs were so deep in mud that he could not get them out by himself. Yet they persisted, helping each other, until they reached a spot which combined the characteristics of a ford of mud and a blind alley. Their eyes were no use; it was pitch dark; they could no more see the way to return than a way to proceed; they just held their heads with their hands and splashed about up to their knees in the river of mud, that was slowly wending its way down the Thames. Their thoughts turned to the blind man in the tragedy:

Dov'il fatal destin mi guida cieco, Lasciami andar e dove il piè mi porta. Ne, per pietà di me, venir più meco; Trovarò forse un fosso, un speco, un sasso, Piatoso a'trarmi fuor di tanta guerra, Precipitando in loco cavo e basso.

But by God's grace, since, as Aristotle says, 'non datur infinitum in actu,' they at length arrived at a spot which was no worse than boggy, with a path beside it which the bog had not quite engulfed, dry enough to unfetter their feet, though uneven enough to imperil heads and legs. Along this they succeeded in reaching the highway-twenty paces from the door they had started from! They decided to try again, this time by road, and this time successfully, without further hindrance than a punch on Bruno's shoulder from one of six jolly Englishmen whom they met with, to which Bruno replied with 'Tanchi [i.e. thank ye], maester,' because the blow had not fallen on the top of his head or anywhere else more sensitive.

The narrative being put in the form of a dialogue permits the more easily of a digression being inserted on the characteristics of Londoners. From this we learn that the upper classes could be, and generally were, charming, but the middle and lower were the worst in Europe; and this is the usual view taken by foreigners, except the mathematician Cardano, who was here in Edward the Fourth's reign, and saw some good even in the London mob. Artisans and shopkeepers, says Bruno, on catching sight of a foreigner, make faces at you, grin, laugh, hoot, call out 'dog,' 'traitor,' 'foreigner,' the last word being in the highest degree insulting, qualifying anyone for the reception of any outrage from anybody. The use of force in reprisals provokes the appearance of an army that seems to spring up out of the ground, but in reality rushes out of the shops, flourishing a forest of sticks. poles, halberds, partisans, and rusty pitchforks, which, given them for better purposes, are always held ready for such occasions. And when you are thinking to depart in peace at last, to rest at home, or be rendered presentable again by the barber, the crowd turn themselves into so many officers of justice if they can make any pretence of one of their number having been touched. Carriers of water or beer knock into you with the vessels they carry, if you are not careful to move aside as they come, and they are men who could damage a house if they butted into that. Serving-men disarm you with a friendly greeting, and then deliver a brutal blow; others will hide behind a booth, and come out charging upon you like an angry bull from the side or from behind. One Alessandro Citoline got a broken arm that way, at which the people roared with laughter, and the magistrate saw nothing reprehensible in it.

Eleven years later we come upon Hans Jakob Breuning von Buchenbach, better known as a traveller in the East. He had been in England seventeen years earlier, he says; but this time a report had to be written for Duke Frederick of Württemberg, who had sent him to negotiate for the Order of the Garter. The Duke

had come in person in 1592 for the same purpose, but gained nothing-except ridicule from Shakespeare in The Merry Wives of Windsor. His ambassador fared no better. After seeming to be near success several times he received the final reply that the Garter could not be granted, since the Kings of France and of Scotland had not yet been admitted; against which answer the Duke notes in the margin of the report, 'Ist das alt Lied.' Both Lord Burghley and the Earl of Essex received Breuning graciously, the latter telling off Sir Henry Wotton to show him round. It is a curious thing that Wotton insisted on his seeing all the Queen's country residences, although Breuning had seen them before and did not want to see them again. It may be that Wotton was very hard up, and had an understanding with the caretakers, for when Breuning thought it advisable to make Wotton a present, the latter preferred cash. Another who profited by Breuning was one Spiellmann, a German of Lindau, who, as the Queen's jeweller, was thought to have great influence.

Of life in London Breuning says very little; he was too much occupied with his mission. Yet of one important detail of that he says not a word. Rye knew something of Breuning's visit, though not of Breuning's own account, which had not then been published by the Stuttgart Litterarischer Verein; but he did come across a letter from Breuning to Burghley, in which the former tries to prove that it is untrue that he was drunk when he had audience of the Queen. The ambassador saw no need to inform his master of this!

It may well have been untrue, too. He had illness to contend with, evidently; and, especially, money troubles. It would seem that some swindler had got a concession granted him in the Duke's name to export cloth duty-free; in consequence of which Breuning heard such language used by London financiers concerning his master as a merchant-prince, or rather, princemerchant, that it kept him awake at night. More trouble was entailed by the Duke's orders as to purchases of London goods; a bloodhound, a coach, horses, hose, and gloves. Horses had doubled in price, for instance, and of one kind of gloves he could find none big enough to fit the ducal hand. In the end he bought six pairs of gloves at 8s. a pair, the coach for 34l., with a hood at 12s.; a cross-bow for fifteen crowns, and twelve pairs of hose at six crowns a pair. As to his expenses, the journey alone, between three and four weeks each way, cost 909 gulden for four persons going and five returning; which, after allowing for the carriage of the purchases home, means more than 100l. per person. Nowadays the journey would take little more than twentyfour hours each way at little more than a tenth of the cost : considerably less, of course, for non-diplomatic travellers. There is, remember, about eight weeks' expenses at home to be added to get an exact equivalent, but on the other hand a further deduction has to be made; what with wear and tear through rough travelling, and total abandonment of part of their luggage for the same reason, the bill for fresh clothes in London came to nearly 72 gulden (say 721.).

Right at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign comes another noteworthy visitor, Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, who was making the Grand Tour of Europe. A diary of the tour was kept by his tutor Frederick Gerschow, the part whereof which is concerned with England will be found, text and translation, in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series, vol. vi. Their visit only extended from the 10th of September to the 3rd of October 1602.

Within that time, however, the Duke went to three plays in London, the first being about 'Samson and the half-tribe of Benjamin,' the next about the re-capture of Stuhlweissenburg by the Christians from the Turks, which had taken place the year previous to his visit (1601); while his last play (on the 18th of September) 'treated of a castam viduam, and was the story of a royal widow of England.' This was enacted at the Children's Theatre, where 'those who wish to see one of their performances must give as much as 8s. of our Stralsund money; but there were always a good many people present, many respectable women as well because useful arguments and many good doctrines, as we were told, are brought forward there. They do all their acting by artificial light, which produces a great effect. For a whole hour before the beginning of the play a delightful performance of instrumental music is given on organs, lutes, pandores, mandores, violins, and flutes; and a boy's singing cum voce tremula in a double-bass (!), so tunefully that we have not heard the like the whole journey, except the nuns at Milan.'

In this account, too, we find one of the few favourable references to the manners and customs of our countrymen:

The English show themselves very well dressed every day, having splendid silken stuffs, such as we always found in Italy. Nothing is too expensive for them, and the ladies especially look very clean, with their linen and frills all starched in blue. All wear shawls of silk and velvet, and graceful and stately gowns, and their manners and behaviour are polished.

Perhaps his compliments are due to the fact that he had been here but nine days when he formed this impression. We need, however, make no deduction from his remarks concerning Cambridge students, that they kept more dogs than books.

Of travellers' fairy-tales he provides us with a plentiful supply. One is that when Queen Elizabeth was a prisoner at Woodstock in Mary's reign, a quantity of smoke arose from underneath her bedroom on three occasions, to the intent that she should be smothered. At Richmond, again, was a round mirror, wherein Henry the Eighth was believed to have seen miraculous revelations, and which broke to pieces the moment the King died. Also, 'this King commanded that after his death his entrails should be taken out of his body and thrown three times against the wall': while at the Tower 'flour was shown lying here from the time of Julii Caesaris; it was not unlike hard lime.' It was at the Tower. too, that he saw the 'Zoo.' But this, of course, was a real fact: though no one but himself mentions seeing so many as eight lions there. Among other minor items to which he refers, and which may be thought of interest, are these. First, that there was a German tailor in London, one Leinvert, who was recognised as the usual guide about London to visitors of his own nationality; and, secondly, that there was one 'Master Kopf,' who possessed a most interesting museum. The latter consisted mainly of curiosities from the 'Indies,' and included some crowns worn by queens in America, many Indian manuscripts and books, and a passport given by a king of Peru to Englishmen.

By nothing was he more struck than by the sight of the prisoners begging at the gates of London, the only beggars, as he says, that there were to be seen. One other prisoner, too, attracted his notice, and may attract ours: 'On our way to the theatre we saw a woman sitting in a little shed made of wood. She had betrayed herself by unchaste conduct, and towards evening was taken to the female penitentiary.' The incident may be commented on by quoting one of the least known, though one of the best, records of Elizabethan life, the contemporary anonymous life of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, which was published in 1857 by the Duke of Norfolk. The Countess, who was well known for works of charity, was one day be sought by a poor woman to come and assist a friend of hers who was being confined. Countess left her house at Acton and walked (a great feat, the biographer considers it) to Hammersmith, where she found the young mother in one of these very same cages, which then stood in the High Street, and had been the only place which her friend could think of to take her to in the emergency.

Last among Elizabethans we may place Alessandro Ricardy, of whom we know nothing but what is to be found in the Pepys papers, published by the Historical MSS. Commission. We put him last, because his remarks are undated, but it is among the Elizabethan papers that they occur. It is no account of a tour that he has to submit, but a scheme (in Italian) for the better sanitary administration of London. 'Knowing the importance of good air, and having great affection for London, he wishes to put

forward an easy plan for keeping that city free from the filth which infects its air.'

His proposition is that the affairs of the laundry and of the kitchen should be brought under control, that all contaminated fluid should be drained off underground into the Thames, and that each house-drain should be protected by a grating; the minimum diameter of each street sewer to be eighteen inches. Brickwork is to be preferred for the sewers; stone would do, but not lead. The cost of the house-drains he estimates at 10d. per rod; 28d. per rod for those under the streets, the money to be raised either by subscription among the houseowners or by the Corporation of London borrowing at 15 per cent. and assessing the proportionate contributions. He also recommends that these drains should be flushed 'on a fixed day every summer'; that mill-ditches should have sluices so as to ensure them containing a supply of water; and that the Fleet river should be deepened and provided with a lock where it enters the Thames. His plans are based on what he has seen in Italy, whence, too, he draws the suggestion that butchers should be allotted their slaughter-houses by the authorities, and that these should be located near the river and above it. One other idea he brings forward is one practised at Antwerp, where 'house refuse has to be put at street-corners or crossways, whence it is removed by carts. It would be better to put it in a corner of the house to await the cart.'

Early in the next reign Vincenzo Giustiniani, Marchese di Bassano, visited England in the course of a long tour, which he undertook because he thought he deserved a holiday after the privations of an austere Lent. One Bernardo Bizoni wrote an account of this tour, in MS. still, but a French paraphrase has been issued by E. Rodocanachi under the title Aventures d'un Grand Seigneur Italien à travers l'Europe.

At Calais he hired a special boat for his live stock, four-legged and human, at the price of 100 lire (between 16l. and 17l.), and lodged outside the gates to be ready to take advantage of the tide in the early morning. The crossing took five hours—a very lucky passage, considering that four hours was a minimum and the maximum indefinite, even as to the number of days. When Charles the First's mother-in-law came to see him a storm kept her at sea seven days, the deputation told off to receive her remaining all the while at Canterbury, not dreaming she had started; and awaiting news of what port she was going to aim at. When at last she did arrive it was at Harwich, and none the worse for the journey, according to her courtier-chronicler, although he owns that her ladies 'touched the hearts of the beholders more with pity than with love.'

It was a different trouble that awaited the marquis. One M. de Gordes had preceded him, had taken up all the best horses at

Dover, and had behaved so outrageously at Canterbury that when the former's party did manage to arrive they found themselves mobbed by the townsmen, who mistook them for more of the same party.

At London he lodged with Paolo of Lucca, whose inn was the resort of Italians of rank. The first sight to be visited was the Parliament, then sitting: the one which had just escaped the Gunpowder Plot, the heads of the conspirators in which Giustiniani saw on London Bridge as he passed across it. At Westminster Abbey he noticed the workmen at work on the tomb of Queen Elizabeth, and then went to St. Paul's, being scandalised as he passed at the violently and scurrilously anti-Papist street-shows that were being exhibited. On the 13th of June he visited Hampton Court, and walking about there met Prince Henry, twelve years old, short and pale, who took off his glove and offered his hand to the marquis to kiss, which the latter refused to do, for the same reason as he refused to be presented to the King, whom he passed at Greenwich a day or two later; he was unwilling to express reverence for a Protestant prince.

Altogether his stay in London lasted five days. His general impression was that London looked very beautiful as long as one did not enter it; and particular impressions were (1) of astonishment that the great had no jurisdiction over the lower classes, and (2) that the dogs had the appearance of lions. To Dover he brought the host of Canterbury, and entertained him and some ship-captains so liberally that they ended by crying 'Long live Rome!' But he, like Chytraeus, complains of exactions at Dover. The royal passports cost forty reals (nearly 10l. of our money) for himself and his suite, and he had to wait till the Governor of Dover returned from hunting to have them viséd. Then the shipcaptain demanded copies, which also cost time and money; and the harbour dues, 2 giuli (7s.) each at entrance, were doubled at departure.

In Elizabeth's time there were no Venetian ambassadors here; but under James the First they reappeared, and each one, in due course, made the report that was expected from every Venetian ambassador on his return home; reports that are among the most valuable of all official documents of the time, because of the exceptional impartiality, sobriety, and insight that characterised the class. The only deduction that has to be made is on account of their habit, if pressed for time, of borrowing their history from their predecessor's report. One of them recommends the Signory to employ the Irish as mercenary soldiers, since the savagery of the conditions under which they are accustomed to live renders them cheap soldiers to keep as well as good fighters; while

of the English he records a proverb of their own that without the three Bs—beer, beef, and bed—they can neither be ruled nor exist. He, like the Marquis of Bassano, was astonished at the impotence of the nobility; 'they cannot put anyone in prison, nor decide a lawsuit to the value of  $\frac{1}{2}d$ .'

But let us pass on to someone less well known, the chaplain of a later Venetian ambassador, whose narrative did, indeed, once receive notice in a far-back number of the Quarterly, but has recently been printed in full in the Calendar of State Papers (Venetian); the English part of it, at least. The volume is that for the years 1617-19; the chaplain's name Orazio Busino.

He came here by way of the Rhine, and visited Amsterdam first, passing the last night of the journey lying down on foul straw in an open Dutch barge in pouring rain. They had to lie down because the bridges were too low to let them sit, much less stand. In time they landed at Gravesend, and stopped to recuperate after the sea-passage at the 'Post,' where they paid 10s. a head for each meal, which means at least 2l. in modern values. Hence they moved to Sir Paul Pindar's house in Bishopsgate Street Without, where, what with apprentices' games, sham fights and artillery practice, Busino could hardly eat a meal in peace.

In London he finds plenty to admire, but not the interiors of the houses, damp and cold through being of wood with no foundations, with inconvenient spiral staircases and mean rooms, and windows which seemed unable to open by day or shut at night. Of Thames water he says that it is 'so hard, turbid and foul' that its smell may be perceived in the linen which is washed with it; and the streets so dirty that mud is the favourite missile of the mob, who evidently had not changed since Bruno's time, judging by Busino's remark that foreigners had to adopt English dress. Spaniards refused to do this and suffered in consequence; one of them Busino himself saw take refuge in a shop from a woman who pursued him, armed with a cabbage-stalk.

The Lord Mayor's Show was one sight he witnessed, and another the execution of a boy of fifteen for stealing a bag of currants—his first offence. Twenty-five at a time going to be hanged was a monthly occurrence, the victims 'going singing, each carrying a sprig of rosemary in his hand.' The already quoted Gerschow, by the way, states that the walls round the gardens of the Temple were all covered with rosemary—a fact which commentators on Hamlet might like to know. At the Fortune Theatre Busino noted with surprise how well the nobility behaved, 'silent and sober,' and that respectable and good-looking women came and sat among the men. He did not understand a word of the play, but found plenty to keep him

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amused in the costly dresses of the actors and the interludes of singing and dancing and instrumental music. A special entertainment he records was the last Twelfth Night-masque performed in the old Banqueting-house at Whitehall, which was burned down a few months later, the masque being Ben Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled with Virtue. In the course of it the dancers began to tire, to the great disgust of the King, who called out 'Why don't they dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take you all, dance!'

King James the First had but a few weeks to live when the last of these visitors, M. de la Villeauxclercs, arrived here. Leaving Calais at 9 A.M. on the 8th of December 1624, he anchored for the night, and disembarked some little way from Dover at 3 P.M. the following day. It is noteworthy that on reaching Gravesend he finished his journey to London by boat (three hours) as being a quicker route than that by road. He then went on to stay at Trinity College, Cambridge, to wait for the King; for his commission was that of ambassador extraordinary for the ratification of the marriage between Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles. The official interest of his visit, however, seems to have swamped the unofficial, inasmuch as his narrative (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 1156) contains little of even minor interest to tell us except that his return took place in a boat of fifty tons, and that on Twelfth Night Buckingham sent him 'boutons fleuris et verdoyans' from an oak in a forest near London, which particular oak was always in foliage at that date, a prodigy which the English deemed miraculous confirmation of their accuracy in keeping Christmas then.

Further research, it may be affirmed with certainty, will yield as good, perhaps better, results than have attended Mr. Rye's or my own; but for the present it may be permissible to overstep the limits of date I started with and quote, by way of appendix, from L'Albion, a Caprice Héroï-comique by St. Amant, one of the cleverest and most popular French poets of the seventeenth century. It is characterised by a virulence whose cause lay not merely in his own experiences here, but also in the uprising against Charles the First, when monarchy was at the height of its favour in France; which happened between St. Amant's visit and the writing of L'Albion, dated the 12th of February 1644.

He announces his intention clearly:

Certes, ce peuple insulaire
Est un estrange animal;
Mais, s'il m'a fait quelque mal,
Il en aura le salaire;
Je le dépeindray si bien

Qu'il ne luy manquera rien Des piés jusques à la teste, Et desjà ma main s'appreste A luy faire un nez de chien.

He apologises to the dog for using this phrase, since the dog is at least faithful to his master, not a barbarous traitor, on which characteristic, as illustrated by recent events, he comments at length. It is not till about half way through his *Caprice* that he leaves politics and returns to other aspects of the life of the nation with

He takes their creeds first.

C'est pourtant un monstre énorme, Un monstre lousche et pervers, Qui de cent vieux corps divers Un corps tout nouveau se forme: Il blesse tout droit divin, Il l'encherit sur Calvin Et sur son antagoniste; Bref, c'est un zelé Brauniste Qui ne veut ny pain ny vin.

After several stanza's on the English considered as

Les cagots des puritains, Ceux du baptesme incertains;

he turns to their musical perversities. Being banished from church,

La musique rejettée
Ne regne qu'au cabaret,
Où le blanc ou le clairet
Voit sa gloire frelatée;
Seulement quand du soleil
Avec un leste appareil
Les chevaux refont gambade,
Quelque malheureuse aubade
Vient lanterner mon sommeil.

J'ayme bien cette science,
Mais ces fascheux menestriers
Ont fait perdre les estriers
Cent fois à ma patience;
Ils s'en viennent tour à tour
Devant l'huis de mon sejour
Forcer ma bource à respondre.
Le diantre puisse confondre
Leurs cornets et leur bon-jour.

Of robbers there are extraordinary numbers, and it strikes him as curious that so many Englishmen should be willing to Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

face death as the penalty of robbery when those whom he saw on the military expedition to the isle of Rhé were such cowards. It suggests to him a few reflections on Jeanne d'Arc, and Jeanne d'Arc brings to mind Chapelain, whose forthcoming poem on 'la pucelle magnanime' was going to be one of the world's great poems. To it there would never be reply from an Englishman.

Il n'a garde d'y respondre, Avec son sot baragoin; Sa muse au front de sagoin Se verroit bien tost confondre; Il est bien assez matois Pour juger que ce patois Bourru, vilain et frivole Est un oyseau qui ne vole Qu'aux environs de ses tois.

Il a neanmoins l'audace De vanter ses rimailleurs; A son goust ils sont meilleurs Que Virgile ny qu'Horace. Seneque au prix d'un Jonson Pour la force et pour le son N'est qu'un poete insipide, Et le fameux Euripide N'a ny grace ny façon.

Bon Dieu! quelle impertinence! Qui la pourroit supporter?

From the play-writers he turns to the actors:

Nos moindres joueurs de farces Valent tous ces histrions; Par pitié nous en rions Entre des sots et des garces; Ces Landores, ces benests, Parlans en vrays sansonnets Qui ne sçavent ce qu'ils chantent Les amoureux represantent Chapeaux entez sur bonnets.

Un roy petune en sa chaize
Tandis qu'un begue discourt;
L'un est borgne, l'autre est sourt
Et n'a ny rabat ny fraize;
L'autre, attaint du mal des dents,
Estonne les regardans
De sa joue enveloppée,
Et l'autre fait la pouppée
Au gré des yeux impudents,

Ycy l'un trop tost se montre, Et là l'autre, rebondy D'un contre-temps estourdy Heurte l'autre qu'il rencontre;

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L'un, disant Gots pour Romains, Ou les dieux pour les humains, Rougit comme une escrevice; Et l'autre, simple et novice, Ne sçait où mettre ses mains.

Quelquesfois, pour intermede, Leurs plats et maigres bouffons Osent, dessous des chiffons, Jouer la pauvre Andromede; Quelquesfois, venus des cieux, Ils dancent droits comme pieux Des moralités muettes Ou de sottes pirouettes Ils esblouissent les yeux.

And from the actors to the audience, the whole, it must be admitted, forming an exceedingly vivid, and doubtless partially true, sketch of the theatrical conditions in the reign of Charles the First.

Les feintes, les faux combas Font trembler, et haut et bas, Le cœur du sexe imbecile, Qui laisse œuvre et domicile Pour jouir de ces esbas.

L'une, voyant l'escarmouche, En redoute le progrès; L'autre oyant de beaux regrets, Pleure, s'essuye et se mouche; L'autre, à l'aise sur le cu, Gabant vainqueur et vaincu Gruge quelque friandise. Et l'autre avec mignardise Rit auprès de son cocu.

Mere, fille, tante et niece. Bourgeois, nobles, artisans, Voudroyent que de deux cents ans Ne s'achevast une piece;

Au sortie de leurs theâtres, Qui font la figue à Bandel, Leurs femmes vont au bordel, Dont elles sont idolastres; Les facquins le sçavent bien, Mais ils n'osent dire rien De peur d'avoir sur la mine; Car la bische ycy domine Et traitte le cerf de chien.

Drunkenness is another Englishwoman's hobby, according to him.

Next, the climate is brought up for trial and of course convicted, then the streets and the men.

On n'y marche dans les villes Que sur des cailloux pointus; On n'y voit que pas tortus Et que morgues inciviles. Là, pour le haut du pavé, L'un est attaint et grevé Par le choc d'un coude rogue, Et l'autre avec un 'french-dogue' Est entrepris et bravé.

Non, je n'ay rien veu de rude Comme l'abord d'un Anglois; Il triomphe sous les lois De la noire ingratitude. Ayez fait pour luy cent pas, Ayez gorgé de repas Sa bedaine à toute espreuve, Si dans la rue il vous treuve, Il ne vous connoistra pas.

Compare with this the remark of the already-mentioned M. Perlin, in Queen Mary's reign, that when Englishmen come to Paris they are treated like little gods, but when he came to England, they spat in his face.

Of their cooking St. Amant naturally has nothing flattering to say, and the conclusion of the whole is:

Pour moy, laissant leur mangeaille, Je dis et redis: Fy d'eux! Et voudrois voir deux à deux Noyer toute la canaille.

E. S. BATES.

## IS ART A FAILURE?

A TALK for half an hour with some Symbolist, Cubist, or Post-Impressionist will go far to convince one of the futility of all the Art of the past, as far as Europe is concerned at least. They may be forced to concede that there have been great men in the past but they were 'all on wrong lines' and of 'no use to us of the twentieth century.' The audacity is interesting and commands our unstinted admiration. It carries us off our feet.

On cooler reflection, however, doubts present themselves and we say to these gentlemen: 'Yes, we can see, now you have pointed it out, that the past, with all its lumbering machinery, has been suddenly wiped out, and a good riddance to it. But do you think-we speak with all diffidence-do you really think that you and your friends are going to fill the void? That is the question. How are we to know for certain that you are the one and only ultimate? May you not all be superseded in a month or so? Did we not in our simplicity think the original Post-Impressionists were indeed original? But lo! Gauguin, Van Googh, and the rest have in a short year become interesting antiquities with an almost British Museum kind of flavour about them.' Yes, it already seems an age since we excited ourselves so splendidly over these painters. Even Matisse now fails to raise any wild emotion in our hearts, since some three weeks agoor is it only two weeks?-another new Art has been born into the world. The proud father is one M. Picasso, of Paris. This new Art consists in the power to render a most truthful and speaking likeness of the soul of inanimate objects, such as two glasses on a table with a mandoline, etc. Since Art has really, at last, been set free, there seems no end to its possibilities-and things move much more rapidly. Augustus John, whom we all quite lately thought so daring, defiant, wayward, and sometimes even outrageous, has, by comparison, become a classic, and seems to possess a chaste and even sickly kind of beauty that may ultimately bring him dangerously near to full philistine appreciation.

Well, here we are, without any Art of the past, and yet dare not put our full trust in these men of modern movements

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on account of the failing they all possess of getting themselves quite hopelessly superseded.

What is to be done? It is a horrible sensation when we begin to suspect that we, with all our wealth of affection and enthusiasm, might be wasting it on unsafe and doubtful objects.

We are fully aware, without having to be told, that it is useless at this time of the day to make any suggestion without it being sufficiently audacious to startle or shock and, if possible, to beget a violent, black-in-the-face opposition.

We have just such a proposition to make, and hope the audacity of it will make the appeal irresistible. The Art world at present is in such a state of perplexity that anyone pointing to 'a way out' ought to be gladly heard and followed.

The daring proposition is, to make truth to nature the standard of art work in the future: Nature all along has been shamefully neglected. One must really take up the cudgels on her behalf. Let us take a few extracts from painters of repute to show the general attitude towards her. They are taken almost at random. A few writers on Art are added to give weight to the others:

#### T

All the germs of Beauty are in Nature, but it is the mind of man alone that can disengage them. That Nature is beautiful man knows; but Nature does not; thus Beauty exists only in the mind of man, and the artist who understands the beautiful is greater than Nature which only shows it.

#### II

The use of Nature to the artist is to stimulate his memories of the style and methods of previous artists. As Nature is never perfect, it needs memories of other great works, consciously, or unconsciously, blended with the artist's own personality to make her acceptable to the cultured intelligence.

#### III

He (the artist) is urged on by his very perception of the beautiful to embody in some sort of way what he has seen floating before his inward eye. . . . In so doing, he first of all reaches for himself, and afterwards discloses to others, a higher kind of truth than a realistic perception of fact, or a study of science, can yield.

#### IV

The imitation theory of Art starts from a truth, which becomes false-hood if it is not transcended. Art is Art, said Goethe, precisely because it is not Nature. If it were so true to reality that it deceived the spectator, who took it for Nature, it would not be real Art at all, but mere artifice, mimicry, and deceit.

#### V

We don't want Nature—what we want is the mind and soul of the artist.

#### VI

Nature! Nature, ah, my friend, what mischief that cry has done me. Where was there an apostle apter to receive this doctrine, so convenient as it was—beautiful Nature and all that humbug?

#### VII

To say to the painter that Nature may be taken as she is, is to say to the player that he may sit on the piano.

These quotations, taken upon the whole, are very soothing words for any poor devil of an artist to read; which accounts in no small degree, perhaps, for a very general acceptance by them of their sense and meaning.

One more by a very noted artist may be added; for later it will be specially commented on.

In seeking after truth and endeavour never to be unreal or affected, it must not be forgotten that this endeavour after truth is to be made with materials altogether unreal and different from the object to be imitated. Nothing in a picture is real; indeed the painter's art is the most unreal thing in the whole range of our efforts.

Nature seems to fare rather badly; the only thing one can say in her favour, we suppose, is that she had a considerable hand in the making of this glorious creature, man, who in turn invented the ideas just quoted.

In order to show to Post-Impressionists and any others to whom it might apply how unnecessary it is to run away from Nature on the presumption that it has all been done and is a 'played-out game,' we are going to advocate and defend a totally different point of view. We will put our case as clearly and uncompromisingly as we can. It is perfectly put in the much-despising phrase, 'a mere imitation of Nature.' It is the realistic idea pushed to extreme, and reduces the artist to the condition of a 'mere copyist.' The perfection aimed at is complete and absolute illusion and nothing short. The perfect artist, from this point of view, would be he who renders the common vision of the man in the street without a sign of the 'beautiful personal vision' so frequently spoken about in art criticism of the day and so coyly accepted as a compliment by the blushing artist.

The final aim of the artist should be to depict a scene as faithfully as a mirrored image. The only thing to guard against, is subject matter that does not furnish a good design. But it is wonderful how almost any subject will fit a frame when one begins to examine it carefully, and with a natural gift for design.

We will proceed to state and then elaborate our reasons for this view, and will deal with them categorically. But let us take Voltaire's advice and first define our terms. What does a man mean when he calls a picture 'a mere imitation of Nature'? We have asked many artists what they mean when they speak of Nature, and the answer has always been very undecided and unsatisfactory. One said 'Everything outside ourselves'; but the usual answer is 'Oh, you know well enough what we mean,' and there it has to end. They doubtless mean, when speaking of Nature, the sum total of all their impressions received through the senses. But does an artist when he speaks of Nature include all the senses, such as taste, or smell, or hearing? Certainly not, he (unconsciously) refers to only one sense, the sense of sight. So the world he means would better be described as the visual world, which reduces the problem to a question of light and nothing else whatever. No light, no Nature, so far as the painter is concerned.

And this brings us to consider the last, or eighth, statement we have quoted. This artist seems to be not unfavourable to truth, which, in this instance at least, has a definite meaning, i.e. a sincere and honest dealing with one's vision, for he goes on to say 'that in our search after truth we must not forget that the endeavour has to be made with materials altogether unreal and different from the objects to be imitated.' This idea is almost universal, and it is a pity, for it leaves the painter far too free, and opens the door to all the whims, caprices, and worst of all the 'solemn fakes' with which the world is getting well-nigh filled up. It is a conviction that leaves no real and ultimate standard, and no proper goal. Is it true that the painter is working with totally different materials from the objects to be imitated? Just the reversethe painter is the only creature who is working in the very medium by which Nature herself produces her most subtle or gorgeous illusions, and in fact all her effects. The white light of the sun is split into various rays (by the action of various stains) which then make their impression on the brain. These rays, through association, etc., are then fixed for us as images. All images, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral, are therefore, in their essence, white light in various wave lengths. The stains (we could use a more scientific word) through which the white light is broken up consist of various natural (or chemical) elements. There are now nearly eighty discovered to date, but most of them are rare; and those with which we are familiar are found everywhere. They are few, some fifteen to twenty. So it comes about that the pigments the painter is using for the purpose of breaking up white light are mostly the same elements with which Nature is producing all her mighty illusions, and by exactly the same process. Is this not a most preposterous case of grumbling at their tools on the part of these workmen in general?

Now, let us consider what is meant by the term 'Mere imitation of Nature.' The term is mostly used disparagingly, and with considerable accent on the 'mere.' To hear the word pronounced with the finest of scorn, get them pronounced by some new Symbolist if possible.

We will inquire into the great unsoundness of this phrase as commonly used.

Let us take a scene of which the artist is to give us a mere imitation. The time is, say, 11 o'clock on a summer morning. The subject is one of a brightly lit sky, but full of cloud forms and chances for design. The distance is some interesting and well-shaped hills-then sea, and nearer, seashore—the foreground consists of sand, and closer up rough stone and grass, finishing with well-shaped trees to the left in outdoor shadow. If the artist is a skilled one, and has fine sensibility, he will give nice colour in the sky, full of gradations, but bright and luminous. The hills he will also make full of gradations and good in colour and nicely related to the sky he has painted. The sea will have sparkle, and have various strata of beautiful blues, greens, violet, and silver. The sand will be warm fluctuations of pinkish yellow with filmy surfaces of grey from light of the sky. The foreground will be dark green with passages here and there of deep violet, making a fine foil for the sunny distance, etc. All these things will be there, and the picture will be pleasing and perhaps saleable. But it will not have Nature's colour, or Nature's gradations, or Nature's absolute relations, or subtle adjustments. The analysis, if any, will be uncertain, fumbling, and wrong. The execution will be quite beside the mark, for it will not contain an adequate statement of the elements that go to build up the illusion of Nature herself. This will all be proved by one infallible test, viz. the lack of absolute illusion, or, in other words, 'mere imitation.' Imitation of Nature's positive and immediate relations alone can give back the wonder and beauty of the scene itself. Any departure from Nature's standards may safely be put down to mere inability to deal with them, and the necessity to be content in consequence with the introduction of pictorial standards. It would be right for some objector-in-chief to come in here with a remark about seeing Nature with two eyes, etc. And the answer is- Well, paint Nature as full and round and true as when seen with one eye, and that will do.'

'A mere imitation' of the subtleties of colours in relation to each other, of the marvellous gradations inside of those, of the perfect adjustment and ordered harmony within the delicate yet Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

strong accents that express forms has never yet been given. They have not yet properly been attempted. So the phrase 'Mere imitation' has no meaning. Now, here comes in the question of Nature painting and personality. How far should a painter go in the rendering of natural appearances? Supposing he had the power accurately to analyse his visual impressions, and the organising brain of a Napoleon, and a technique of the very highest order, so that he could realise the subtleties and beauties of Nature, and so command the 'look' of Nature—how far should he actually go in this rendering of natural appearances? Is there any point where he should stop, and if so, where, and why?

These questions are suggested by the reading of many books on Art, and hearing the discussions of many artists, and also by the advent of the Post-Impressionists, etc. It is always assumed, firstly, that Nature is such a very vague and uncertain factor, and is seen so very differently by us all, that it doesn't matter how we render her, so long as it results in Art. And, secondly, that the personality of the artist is the main thing to be expressed; that is, though we must respect Nature in all other ways, in this connexion at least we need not treat her very seriously.

These two assumptions probably account for the extraordinary divergencies in the rendering of the same subject by the various artists, divergencies that go far beyond all possible differences in the sight of the individual artists. That the sight is good, and the use of it quite sound, can mostly be proved by the fact that the picture they will paint (with Nature before them) will remind one of some other artist's work which they have seen—and seen with very great accuracy.

So it comes to this, an artist can effectively echo another man's art, but so far cannot analyse and reproduce with vividness and truth the 'look' of living reality.

To the above statement as to the failure of artists to render the actual appearance of life, one ought in fairness to acknowledge a notable exception in the case of a well-known artist. If an average Sargent portrait were placed among a group of portraits by other great men, no doubt all sorts of merits would justly be attributed to the others; but the Sargent would stand out and separate itself in quite an extraordinary way. His portrait would be found by this test to possess a great and startling look of life. So much so that it might have the effect of turning the others into mere ghosts or shadows of people. This fact about Sargent has been felt for a long time, but its cause or its extent has not been fully defined. To great accomplishment in the whole art of painting as such he has added something else. Through a peculiar faculty of his own he has been able to educate himself very

largely in the 'science of appearances,' as Herbert Spencer calls it, and added this to the necessary accomplishments of a great painter. It is a thing thrown in, something over and above, and it separates him widely from virtually all other painters. element of life in Art is not wanted by painters. Heavens! What a good thing for them that it is not demanded! They say in effect 'We don't want life; what we want is style, quality of paint, beauty of drawing, fine design, etc.' It is a strange contradiction to strive to give the counterfeit presentment of living beings, and leave out the characteristic thing about them-i.e. the intense sensation of life. In saying they do not want people to look like Nature to this extent, they always imply that they could make them do so if they wanted to, and no doubt they honestly think it is so. This is mere self-delusion, and argues a misunderstanding of the difficulty (almost amounting to impossibility) of attaining such a thing.

Berkeley, Reid, Helmholtz, Bain, and others who have given profound study to the sensation of sight, help us to the understanding of the difficulty of this particular problem. They show that from the long-standing ingrained habit of the race we treat the optical sensations we experience as of no importance to us as such. Their only use is in the deductions we make from them. Reid says 'The visible appearances of objects are intended by Nature only as signs or indications. The mind passes instantly to the things signified without making the least reflection upon the sign, or even perceiving that there is such a thing.' Helmholtz, backed by many experiments and proofs, states the matter thus: 'We only attend with any ease and exactness to our sensations in so far as they can be utilised for our knowledge of outward things; and we are accustomed to neglect all these portions of them which have no significance as regards the external world.' And again: 'It is a universal law of the perceptions obtained through the senses that we pay only so much attention to the sensations actually experienced as is sufficient for us to recognise external objects. In this respect we are one-sided and inconsiderate partisans of practical utility.' Max Nordau, the unloved of artists and other geniuses, makes some shrewd remarks on these facts of perception; for instance: 'All of us have this impulse to generalise the individual phenomena apprehended by us, to associate them with others to which they are not united by any connexion that is perceptible to the senses, and to add on to them features which have no place in them. This habit of thought, a result of our organic imperfection, is the source If we allowed phenomena to produce their of all our errors. effects upon our senses without putting obstacles in their way in the nature of material images of the recollection of other

phenomena that had previously occurred, and that had more or less superficial likeness to them, we might indeed be ignorant, but would not make mistakes; we might overlook facts or imperfectly perceive them, but would not interpret them untruly; we would have in our consciousness, it may be, a small number of conceptions, but none that were incorrect; for this mistake never arises from the perception, but from the interpretation, and the latter is not what lies in the phenomenon, but what we add to it from the means at our command, not what the senses communicate to the brain, but what the brain makes the senses believe. We stick, however, to our defective habit of thought, for it gives us an agreeable feeling of mental wealth, in that it fills our consciousness with a crowd of conceptions that do not allow it to be divided by any feature innate in them, whether they are correct or incorrect, schemes or realities.' In fact we only see what we have already seen, and expect to see; so to tell in paint the unbiassed truth about any phenomenon placed before an artist is not easy. He is too heavily handicapped. However, the science of perspective has been embodied in our Art practice—the science of anatomy and science of luminous colour has been added, and one hoped the 'science of appearances' (the line on which Sargent has been going) would show signs of further development. In using the phrase 'science of appearances' some further explanation may be necessary—especially in this particular connexion. We have already ventured on the statement, 'No light, no Nature as far as the painter is con-The thing to be examined, therefore, is the phenomenon of light. Now, to judge a phenomenon as it really is, and to be certain that we apprehend only what, as a matter of fact, is happening before our senses, we would have to face it with perfect impartiality and without acknowledging any previous experience of it. We would have to forget everything made familiar to us by previous phenomena, and keep from adding to it any features not actually comprised within it. In short, in direct vision we would have to suppress all previously acquired memories of sight. The character of our brain and thinking apparatus makes this nearly impossible. Still it is the only process by which we can attain truth to Nature's appearance ('mere imitation ').

A spirited attack was made on the problem by both Manet and Monet, and the latter formulated a method of obtaining vivid luminous sensations, which has been adopted by many, and has degenerated into a mannerism. Monet's analysis nevertheless resulted in many beautiful and wonderfully true representations of the great luminous phenomenon we call the world. It remained for Sargent, however, to bring the problem indoors

and into portraiture, with the result that he has given, to a wonderful degree, the *living look*, which is the most striking characteristic of his sitters!

To like or dislike the achievement is beside the mark, and one is reminded of the nigger's song, 'There's ninety-nine verses to this song-you won't like them-but you've got to have 'em.' Many may not be able to follow this connexion between Monet and Sargent, the illumination is so vividly different in pitch, and Sargent's technique is quite on classic lines, while Monet's is the Still the problem of both is the same in each case. They have gone to the truth of the whole matter and tried to reach (through colour) the true illumination on which the illusion of Nature herself depends. We had thought that Art would show still further research into this mighty problem, but, alas! there are no followers of Sargent, and there cannot be as long as artists keep staring at his work with the conviction that they will find—as heretofore—some art trick, or 'stunt,' or 'fake' (or whatever the right word may be) to which they can help themselves. The secret lies not in the work, but in the problem which has been his intense preoccupation.

But painting has gone off in a different direction—and in a considerable hurry too. The movement in general goes, in England, by the name of Post-Impressionism, and it is thriving greatly. Many fine things have been said—not unjustly—about some of those who practise it. But already there are far too many practising it in one form or another. They are now numbered by the thousands. The progress—in the way of numbers—is astonishing; and all within a year. And not less astonishing is the fact that artists, who a year ago were hopelessly commonplace and could achieve nothing, are now bright and shining lights. They were all great men in disguise, and we failed to recognise them. Of course that is, doubtless, the explanation.

As for the symbolism on which the whole movement is founded, it should not be forgotten that every object in Nature is a symbol, and no kind of parody of it can make it more of a symbol than it is, no matter how clever or funny the parody may be. On the other hand, 'the mysterious face of common things' still remains 'mysterious.' However closely we follow its outward appearance, it still continues to embody an immortal necessity. 'The world is a temple whose walls are covered with emblems, pictures, and commandments of the Deity.' But the Post-Impressionist fears that we may tire of these emblems unless he touch them up a bit for us. He is doubtless of use—to the tired ones.

Since writing the last few lines the Futurists have arrived—so exit the Symbolists, Cubists, and Post-Impressionists in

general. Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri They are great people the Futurists. Tennyson might thus have anticipated them in Locksley Hall:

For they dip into the future, far as humid eye can see, Paint queer visions of the world, and all the wonders of D.T.

They must be seen to be enjoyed. But they too will 'have their day '—they'll 'have their day and cease to be,' and the lively old painters, and tired young ones, may 'go in' for it, but they do so at their peril. But, knowing the pain and danger, too, of painting Nature with truth—'Nature' in the sense in which we have been speaking—we hesitate to recommend it. It is too drastic, and would doubtless kill a lot of fine fellows, and be too great a drain on the funds of the Artists' Benevolent Society. So, after this long round, we are forced into the position of asking once more 'Is Art a failure?'

Is Art a failure? The question is preposterous, of course; and yet that is virtually what the Post-Futurists and other men of modern movements are thrusting upon us, in the hope, doubtless, that they may be taken seriously. We have seen their efforts referred to as 'modern aspirations,' and as a 'shaking of the dry bones.' In old-fashioned, early Edwardian days, days before the virus cinema had got into our blood, we had a mild form of entertainment called the negro minstrels. The wild man who did most of the clowning also went in for violent shaking of dry bones; but he was often amusing, and was sometimes even wise, in his own way. The analogy therefore is not quite complete-but there it is. Art may be a failure as far as giving an accurate representation of Life and Nature goes; that is, as phenomenon pure and simple (and we have surely proved and insisted on this with a spiteful sort of relish sufficient to satisfy the most exacting iconoclast), but Art can suggest and hint at Nature in a very satisfying way, and thus give us the greatest and most refined of pleasures. In the past she has been one long and triumphant success. Nation upon nation has arisen and grown great, then vanished like a wreath of smoke and left nothing behind but the remnants of their Art. From the Art of these nations, in one form or another, we have been able to gauge the degree and quality of their culture and civilisation. We have no other means of judging it, in fact. Doubtless it will be the same with ourselves in turn, and other races of mankind-widely different from ourselves, perhaps-will weigh and sum us up in the self-same way. Were we to cast the mind's eye over the wide range calmly, and without too much bias against ourselves, we would have no reason to fear the verdict. In their own relations, and in their own English way, we have as great a race of

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri artists as the world has ever seen. We may not have dived very deeply into the 'science of appearances,' but all the same we have now living amongst us a goodly number of artists that would do credit to any age whatever. Nor are they all outside the Academy, as some disappointed ones are apt to say. It may be a difficult thing for some safety-loving worshipper of old masters to believe, but many old masters of the future are quietly working beside us, and what we think, what we feel, and what we are, will be passed on by them to other ages and other races of men, as surely as the coming of to-morrow's dawn. We have carefully considered the case of the Post-Futurists, and have, moreover, propounded a problem for them—and any others whom it may concern, which we heartily recommend. If they desire anything difficult, anything quite awfully original, and yet on sound and permanent lines, let them try it. We wish them all success.

In the meantime we will not give up Art for Post-Futurism, but will stick to her through thick and thin. So hie we to the National Gallery to stand before Rembrandt and his fellowaristocrats of Art and banish all the present-day chatter in absorbing admiration. But there is a baneful note attending these great works now, which is far from artistic, but is not to be ignored. One cannot help wondering, as one stands before them, what pranks some mighty lord might not be tempted to play with them if he had the chance. Also what unimaginable price some American will actually pay for them when our country has 'gone to the dogs.' (For it is going to the dogs for certain, and shortly too. We had it from a good authority—a politician in a big way, and one who is in a position to know.) Unfortunately, this class of picture has become the most effective wealthadvertising medium in the world. However, the pictures are all right, and Post-Futurism would be a sorry substitute for them, we should think. Nor shall we glory in artistic snobbery and prate only to the old masters, but will see great Art even in the newest painted. We will wend our way to the Academy in the good old way-even try to 'spot' the picture of the yearand admire anew the wonderful outdoor studies of Sargent. (How we miss his portraits!) The noble landscape of Arnesby Brown; the style and old-English grace of Shannon's portraits; the cool, limpid, and exquisite colour of Clausen's larger picture; the graceful fantasia of Charles Sims (a difficult art to make convincing, and requiring many gifts). Also the extraordinary and powerful picture by Mr. Strang, the commonplace lifted into the region of great Art! These, and many more we will enjoy, without distraction at the thought that these fine artists are still here, and are not yet the sport of dealers, lords, and millionaires. That the pictures are newly painted will not affect our estimate—or our pleasure.

There is no old,
There is no new,
There only is the good and true,
And the best is all around.

ROBERT FOWLER.

## THE PROTECTION OF THE INDIAN FAUNA

My personal experience of India dates back to the close of the nineteenth century, and has not been renewed since then; but from a variety of books and articles which have since been published, I am led to believe that one among the multitudinous charms and sources of interest in the scenery of that Empire the abundance of wild beasts and birds in the landscapeshas since been materially diminished. A railway or a road journey through almost any part of India in 1895 was of absorbing interest to the naturalist or to anyone who experienced an aesthetic pleasure in the contemplation of strange and beautiful forms of animal life. From the windows of a railway carriage in the not-too-rapidly-moving train, or from the shaded shelter of some bullock-cart, the greater comfort of a landau or victoria, the unhampered purview of a dog-cart, one might see the sleek blue nilghai tragelaphs plunging into the dense jungle from the open pasture by the roadside, or stopping for a moment to stare with their giraffe-like eyes. Herds of hog deer, and perhaps some splendid buck of the Axis species-its deep red coat splashed and spotted with vivid white-browsed in many a forest clearing quite regardless of the passing train. and not much disturbed even by the trotting of a pony. By every tank and watercourse stood the tall, grey Sarus cranes or the white, red-faced cranes, in close proximity to natives who were washing their bodies or their clothes. Many a meadow was snowy with the Paddy-birds-the small white herons that frequent the oxen or the buffaloes to relieve them of their persecuting flies and ticks. Every now and again from the train, as it passed through solitudes little disturbed by man, one saw the pea-fowl flapping in undulating flight over the bamboos and palm scrub. In the open, arid plains herds of black buck—a few black-and-white males to a number of redand-white females-alternately browsed and lifted their heads to measure the distance that separated them from a possible The wealth of bird life—as displayed to the eyeexceeded anything I have ever met with in the wildest parts of Africa (with the exception here and there of great assemblages

of water-fowl for which African rivers, swamps, and lakes were once famous). One of the most beautiful features about that superbly beautiful city Agra is, or was, the flocks of green and rose-colour parrakeets, which frequented the vicinity of the old marble palaces in such numbers as really to colour the landscape. Farther south the blossom-headed parrakeets, in their colonies on the outskirts of the woodlands near Bombay, made a picture of grass-green and peach colour against sombre brown and black-green not readily to be forgotten. Many of the Indian cities had their tribes or families of cream-white, blackfaced monkeys, or monkeys of satanic blackness in fur and face. Even a brief summary of the patent examples of the Indian fauna displayed in the jungle, the forest, on the open plain, in and around the habitations of man, would occupy at least ten pages of this Review. Journeys of somewhat greater difficulty and more off the beaten track on the slopes of the Himalayas in Kashmir or Assam, would at that time still have shown the tourist (with little or no danger to himself, or with only that amount of risk which is involved by some degree of Alpine climbing) black bears, sloth bears, and isabelline bears, rough-coated gazelles, ibexes, markhor, and sheep with colossal horns; and at lower levels have given him the very possible chance of seeing a tiger. The amazing pheasants of Assam and Burma, and of the Malay Peninsula, were still common, not to say abundant.

But the change which has taken place since 1895 has, if I rightly appreciate the facts to be gathered from the variety of books, reports, and articles in scientific periodicals issued in the United States, India, and England, been a woeful one from the point of view of those who are deeply interested in the preservation of fauna and flora: interested, it may be, from several points of view, or along some particular line. Some there are among us who plead for the retention of beasts and birds in our landscapes, of remarkable trees and plants, solely because of their beauty or the intellectual stimulus aroused by their strangeness of form, the mystery of their origin. again, point to the economic value of many beasts and birds, and even of reptiles, fish, and certain insects, and of many among the multitudinous trees and plants of the tropics which through ignorant destruction are nearing extinction. category of persons who desire legislation for the protection of beasts and birds-more especially birds (and I might add, freshwater fish)—bases its arguments on the unwisdom of our destroying allies in the tremendous battle against the diseases caused by microscopic animals and parasitic worms; or the insects, ticks, and molluscs, which act as germ-carriers in the spread of such parasites—parasites that not only directly destroy man himself by

attacking his blood or his tissues, but kill the animals and plants on which he feeds, or which are serviceable to him in other ways. It is not unlikely that the growth of certain diseases in India is due to the destruction of birds which have preyed on the germ-carrying insects, ticks, or molluscs. It seems still more probable that the renewal of sleeping sickness in Africa is partly due to the destruction of white herons, glossy starlings, shrikes, and other birds valued by the French, Belgian, or Portuguese plumage-hunters; who also employ large numbers of natives for the killing of birds in French and Portuguese West Africa and the Belgian Congo.

The devastation which has been wrought in the wonderful mammalian fauna of Northern India and Central Asia by British military officers since the improvement of the rifle in the middle of the nineteenth century has been appalling. They have stimulated directly or indirectly the passion for biggame shooting always present in the Muhammadan peoples of India and Central Asia. Within the geographical scope of the British Indian Empire certain species of wild goat and sheep of great beauty and interest have been brought to the verge of extinction solely and only to gratify the lust for killing which has animated until quite recently the average Briton in India. I only lay stress on the military profession of most of these sportsmen because big-game shooting often demands great activity, courage, and powers of physical endurance, and the very qualities which have made the British military officer in India the man that he has proved himself to be—the creator for the most part of this amazing Empire-have unfortunately made him also a terrible agency for the destruction of remarkable beasts, in India as in Africa and North America. The British soldier is as keen on shooting as his officer, and less scrupulous, perhaps, as to what he shoots-everything larger than a mouse or a tomtit is fair game in his eyes. But he does not possess the perfected weapons, the leisure, the authority, and the monetary means to make much impression on the more striking examples of the Indian fauna.1 The civilian officials, though quite as courageous and enduring as their military colleagues, are more naturalists by inclination, and although we are indebted to many a military sportsman for invaluable notes on natural history, on the life habits of beasts and birds, all the really great students of the Indian fauna and flora have, with a few marked exceptions, proceeded from the civil and not the military service.

What is a very notable and pleasant feature—due to the spread of education—in the most modern types of British soldier is that directly he becomes a non-commissioned officer, and therefore has a little pocket-money to spare, he turns photographer and draughtsman, and ends by becoming an earnest ornithologist, entomologist, or anthropologist.

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The planters and merchants of the British community in India have for the most part been deadly foes to its indigenous fauna, although often unintentionally so, and in a way which (however regrettable its results) one can scarcely blame. instance, the tremendous destruction of forest which is going on in North-east and South India, and throughout Further India from Assam to Singapore (as also in Ceylon), is leading to the extermination of many amazingly beautiful birds, more especially the large or the remarkable pheasants of those regions: as has been pointed out in a recent report by Mr. C. W. Beebe to the New York Zoological Society. But this destruction of the primeval forest is being carried out for the planting in its stead of rubber-producing trees, of coffee, tea, and other products absolutely necessary for man's use; and in a general way this is a process one cannot hope to arrest, for the benefits to be derived from it outweigh the losses. Yet, as Mr. Beebe points out, it should be quite possible for the Governments of India. Ceylon, and the Malay Peninsula, to arrange for special forest reservations which shall not be invaded by the planter or the miner, but where many of these more remarkable forms of bird and beast shall continue to exist undisturbed: in short, national parks such as are fast being brought into existence in the United States and in most of the British colonies, and which ought to be created here and there in England, Scotland, and Ireland. [The New Forest and Epping Forest are cited as such, but those who look into the matter know that from the point of view of preservation of fauna and flora these tiny reserves are a mockery, since no steps whatever are taken to prevent within their limits the extirpation of rare plants, birds, beasts, and insects.

When the present writer was asked some two years ago to prepare notes and suggestions regarding the creation, extension, or curtailment of game reserves in Africa, and to make suggestions regarding the drawing up of game regulations, it occurred to him to inquire into such precedents as existed in India; and he was surprised to learn that no legislation of universal application under this head existed (in British India), but that the attention of the Indian Government had been drawn to this need,<sup>2</sup> and that the provisions of a Game Act were now

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Earl Curzon of Kedleston in 1901 expressed himself as being in close sympathy with the cause of game preservation in India. 'It was one which in his judgment appealed not only to the sportsman but also to the naturalist and the friend of animal life.' He admitted that hitherto the attempts made by the Indian Government to deal with the question by legislation, etc., had been fitful and lacking in method. Then and later he apparently invited a re-examination of the subject, but before he could proceed to any definite promotion of legisla-

under consideration, which would apply to all parts of India governed directly by the British Crown. It was hoped with some probability that once this Act became law the native princes of the self-governing States which form part of the Indian Empire would follow suit, where they had not already intervened to protect their native fauna; the more so as in many cases both princes and people are non-Muhammadan and not yet Christian, and consequently are opposed to any needless destruction of living forms.

Apparently, since the time of my inquiries, this proposed legislation has crystallised into a Game Act, not yet promulgated though there has been considerable advance in the provincial regulations for the protection of fauna and flora, and the creation of game and forest reserves. It is curious that a subject of such vast and altogether Imperial importance should have been dealt with so covertly, and the provisions of any proposed general Acts not have been issued in an authoritative and official manner so that they could pass through that degree of public discussion to which nearly all legislation is now submitted before it is placed on the statute book or brought to the final arbitrament of elected assemblies. I may, of course, have overlooked some important White Book or Blue Book which has come into existence in India and has not been noticed in the British Press, but so far the only publication of the measures intended by the Indian Government, the only review of those already and for some time past in force, is that which has appeared in the Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London in its publication of March 1912. This article, by Mr. E. P. Stebbing, was read at a meeting of the Zoological Society on the 24th of October, 1911.

The proposed Indian Game Protection Act is to include in its application all British India, Baluchistan, the Santal Parganas, and Spiti.3 It does not include the native States, and, what is really very surprising, it does not extend to Burma. Naturally, it has nothing whatever to do with game preservation in Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, as those regions are under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office in London. It is to come into force when published in the Gazette of India. It is to relate specially to the preservation of the rhinoceros, buffalo, gayal, and gaur (a bovine which the Indian Government persists in calling 'bison'), 'and other wild oxen' (presumably the yak);

tion he left India, and since then no Act or regulation defining the principles governing the protection of game and the means by which such protection should

be effected has been brought into existence. The Santal Parganas are a minute district of Central Bengal, and Spiti

is a tiny State on the frontiers of Kashmirian Tibet.

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wild asses; all kinds of sheep, goats, gazelles, and other antelopes; nilghai and deer, and other ruminants (this vague phrase no doubt covers the little chevrotains); also hares and any other animals that a Local Government may specify; the term 'animal' including fish as well as birds and beasts (presumably also reptiles, though these are not alluded to specifically). But the Act does not affect the pursuit, capture, or killing of game by non-commissioned officers and soldiers on whose behalf regulations have been made—a weakness which at once robs it of nearly all its efficiency—likewise, of course, it does not restrict the killing of any animal for which a reward may be claimed from Government, or in self-defence, or any large animal caught in the act of injuring crops, or of a dangerous character, as specified in preceding legislation. With regard to birds, the continued existence of which in certain species is of such importance to the maintenance of the balance of nature in India, some small provision is made. The Act is intended to control the destruction of pigeons and sand-grouse, of pea-fowl, jungle-fowl, pheasants. partridges, quail, spur-fowl, bustards, and their congeners; geese, ducks, swans, etc.; woodcock and snipe.' 4 No firearms shall be used or carried for killing game without licence under this Act or pre-existing Acts of a similar nature. Local Governments may by notification prohibit within any local area for any period the capture or the killing, or the attempt to capture or kill, game of all or of any specified kinds, whether birds, beasts, or fish. Local Governments may also prohibit the possession or the sale of all game or fish within municipal or cantonment limits, or the importation of any kind of plumage (why not prohibit exportation?). The licence to carry a gun and to shoot game may be restricted to the killing of certain specified animals or to a specified period of time. The word 'killing' generally includes in the scope of the Act capture of living animals. Special fees may be charged for a right to kill specified animals. The one licence, however, covers the employment of native hunters, beaters, assistants, etc. These licences are non-transferable and cannot be granted for a longer period than one year. They are to cost twenty rupees for each issue and each renewal, though a higher rate of fees may at any time be promulgated by the Governor-General in the Gazette of India, and security be asked from licensees for their fulfilment of the regulations. Licences will be granted, however, to the owners of agricultural land for only five rupees, but to be in force only in their own localities,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> As Mr. Stebbing remarks, the specifications throughout are those which might have been drawn up by some English squire, good-naturedly interested in the game birds or beasts he desired to shoot and eat, and indifferent to the considerations of a zoologist. There is an excellent article on the economic importance of Indian birds by Mr. Douglas Dewar in the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts for December 25, 1908.

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or a Local Government may issue licences without any charge at all for reasons which it may consider sufficient. All licensees must keep an account of all large animals killed, giving sex, date, and place.

That excellent newspaper—from the naturalist's as well as the sportsman's point of view-The Indian Field, published a series of articles in 1907 relative to the preservation of the Indian fauna. In the course of these, mostly anonymous, the writers pointed out that the Imperial Government, as proprietor of all the wild game in the British-governed portions of India, was the party most directly concerned in its preservation, and it had the right not only to safeguard such a valuable asset, but also to obtain a reasonable profit therefrom; just as in the establishment of forestry regulations even the persons residing in or near the forest had to pay for every bundle of grass and bamboo which they required for building their houses (except in such instances as where their personal or communal claims to the forest were admitted), so in the same way the native community, quite as much as the European, must be taught to regard the wild beasts and birds as under Government protection, and not slay them either for profit or for the protection of their crops, except under regulation. The belief was expressed in these articles that this point of view would be readily adopted by the mass of the Indian population, who were naturally inclined to feel a certain tenderness towards and respect for the wild fauna. Naturally, the regulations dealing with wild animals would be drawn up with as much good sense as those which are now protecting the Indian forests. The persons appointed in any projected fauna protection department would see that natives and foreigners alike enjoyed sufficient liberty to protect their crops and persons from the attacks of harmful beasts and birds. But the writer or writers of these articles did not shirk the conclusion that the only enemies to such legislation would be sportsmen, European and 'In the former category should be placed first, the official who is backed by Government authority, and his favoured friends who are given all the facilities which his position allows; next, the solitary hunter with his small camp and all the game regulations of the province to keep him in the right path. subdivisions in this class are numerous, and include the unemployed colonel putting in his time, the subaltern out on ten days' casual leave, the humble clerk who can occasionally get away from his office for a week, and the British soldier let loose in parties for fixed periods.'

The native Indian sportsmen usually belong to one or other of the following types—the rich raja, noble, or landowner (usually Muhammadan in religion), 'possessed of unlimited sport-

ing appliances and a host of followers'; the professional shikari who takes out a gun licence, does nothing that is illegal, but makes his livelihood from what he shoots, and therefore shoots all he can; the small landholder, who, though he may be no sportsman himself, nevertheless for the sake of appearances buys firearms and lends them to his servants, so that his household may be supplied with fresh meat; and lastly, the villager or labourer who is employed as a watchman at night, or during the day in the fields, or with the cattle, and who is supplied with a gun for self-defence and for aggression against marauding animals, but who makes use of his position and his opportunities for a good deal of illicit destruction of game. Such a type is usually completely ignorant or quite defiant of any regulations that may be in force. Finally, and perhaps most terrible of all in the undoubted devastation that they are committing among the wild fauna of Northern India, there are the Gurkha soldiers. 'From the banks of the Kali or Sarda on the frontier of Nipal, to the banks of the Indus, the battalions of these gallant little men are scattered in cantonments all along the outer spurs of the Himalayan range. In seven or eight of these locations there are at least fourteen thousand of these disciplined warriors. who, in the absence of opportunities for spilling human blood legitimately, are given a free hand for slaughtering wild animals, along five hundred miles of the best hunting grounds in Upper India.'

Mr. Stebbing's criticisms of the main provisions of the Act are as follows. He complains firstly, and rightly, of the vagueness of the phraseology in the meanings attached to 'game,' 'large animal,' and 'bird.' 'If the drafters of the Bill were to apply to any zoologist who had a practical working and sporting knowledge of the game life of India, they could be furnished with a detailed list of animals both large and small.' 'Animal,' moreover, is much too vague a term. Officialdom in India seems to be unaware of the existence of the word mammal. The term animal may include man himself, birds, insects, or even the flagellate trypanosomes which are the cause of so many germdiseases. Mr. Stebbing asks also that the mammals shall be classed scientifically in their natural divisions, such as carnivora, 'The various deer, antelope, goats, herbivora, rodentia, etc. and sheep, are also perfectly well known, and the publication of lists detailing each animal by name is a perfectly easy matter.' Then again, as regards birds, no distinction is made between migratory birds and those which live all their lives in India; and no mention at all is made of the most important section, the insectivorous birds. 'And yet the distinction is one of enormous value in a great agricultural country like India, where the benefit

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri the cultivators must derive annually from insectivorous birds is quite incalculable.' Mr. Stebbing also takes exception to the special favours which are to be accorded to English and native soldiers in the matter of free shooting, and once more refers to the damage-I might add, from some personal observation, the appalling damage—which has been done to the fauna of Northern India by the Gurkha soldiery. He would also - and all naturalists will agree with him-abolish the giving of a reward for every tiger, leopard, wild dog or wolf, slain on the plea that it is dangerous. We cannot bear to think of India without its tigers, its leopards, or its remarkable wild dogs of the Dhol species. That their attacks on human beings (very rare) or on domestic animals must be restrained, that wild carnivorous animals must even be extirpated in densely populated regions, is indisputable, but that they should be exterminated from all the forests, mountains, and uninhabitable parts is monstrous. Lions and tigers, and even jaguars and leopards, are quite as important to the mental welfare of humanity as oxen and sheep are for its material benefit. People in India are so eager to go out shooting tigers, bears, leopards, wild dogs, etc., that the granting of a money reward for slaying these creatures is not only unnecessary but a stupid, additional incentive to a thoughtless destruction of the works of God. Mr. Stebbing's other remarks on the provisions of this Act and the results of its application are instinct with fair-mindedness towards sportsmen, the natural history collector (whether military or civil), and the native, as well as to the general interest of the civilised world, which cannot be refused consideration in the preservation of the Indian fauna. It would scarcely be fair to quote too much from his article, which is one that the Zoological Society of London might, in the general interests of the public, see its way to reprinting as a separate pamphlet, issued at a moderate price.5

If he has fairly described this projected Act, I am afraid one can only derive the impression that the long-promised imperial legislation on the subject has not been framed by competent men, and that it betrays once again that curious reluctance on the part of the official created by our existing system of education to concern himself too deeply with subjects which seem to him of doubtful value and heterodox nature, such as zoology. Now that the whole system of the selection and appointment of members of the Civil Service is to be taken under consideration, and that recommendations and suggestions are invited from all quarters regarding the education they should undergo and the examinations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The cost of the number of the *Proceedings* for March 1911, which contains Mr. Stebbing's article, is 12s. It is published by the Society at their Regent's Park Office, and by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., Paternoster Row.

they should pass, it might well be brought to the notice of the Imperial Government that not only is geography of primal importance in the syllabus of all branches of the Civil Service examinations, but that in all Indian and colonial services zoology as well as anthropology and botany should take a prominent place in the qualifying examinations; whereas Greek, at any rate, should be thrown overboard completely (instead of claiming, as it does now, some preposterous allotment of marks), and a good deal of other stuff of outworn importance in the life of to-day be equally discarded.

Fortunately, the Local Governments and the native States are perhaps more alive to the interest, the beauty, and the importance of the Indian fauna than the Viceroy's Council. In British India the question of game sanctuaries has received considerable attention in the Bombay Presidency, in Madras, in Bengal, in the Central Provinces, in the Panjab, Berar, and in Eastern Bengal and Assam (with the exception of Chittagong, where some of the most interesting of Indian mammals are still struggling to maintain their existence). The North-West Frontier Province deserves a bad mark—no game sanctuaries have been formed there, and apparently very little interest has been taken in the preservation of the fauna. The same severe criticism applies to Burma, to the United Provinces of North-Central India, where the utter lack of adequate game protection has too long been under 'the consideration of the Lieutenant-Governor.' As regards the native States, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has a special game-preservation department in his administration, which issues every year a printed copy of the Game Laws. This State also contains no fewer than eight game reserves for which no shooting permits are issued, and each of which is about 600 square miles in extent; besides which, twelve regions of small area (deep valleys of rivers, usually) in Kashmir, as far away as British Tibet, are treated by their owners as game sanctuaries and are closed to sportsmen. the native State of Chamba, owing to the hospitable character of the existing raja, too great lenity is shown to British visitors in the matter of the issue of shooting permits. Otherwise, theoretically, Chamba is as well organised for game protection as Kashmir. In the great native State of Haidarabad in the Dekkan there are two State reserves, but unfortunately the Nizam, out of a desire not to seem inhospitable to British visitors, not infrequently grants special permission to shoot in them. nearly every person in this State is armed with a firearm of some sort, some of them of the most recent invention, practically no game but a few tigers and bears-deer being almost extinctexists outside the limits of the two State reserves and a few

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private properties (jaghirs). In Maisur (Southern India) there are seven game sanctuaries. In most of the other native States there is either no provision whatever made for the protection of game, and no game sanctuary exists, or if there are such on the private properties of the rulers, permission is granted so freely to shoot in them that the restrictions are of little value.

Even within these sanctuaries there is little danger of wild beasts and birds increasing and multiplying too fast, since nature keeps them down, directly they overstep the limits, by some germdisease. Anthrax has been making considerable inroads on the wild oxen, deer, and wild elephants of India and Burma, and although, if the game sanctuary be of sufficient size, these species usually recover from the occasional epidemics and regain their former numbers, they are never likely in these regions of the tropical world to swarm as the bison once swarmed over North America; or as the deer in the New Forest, in the days of the Norman kings, made surrounding agriculture impossible. Mr. Stebbing points out that we have come within measurable distance of the extermination of the one-horned rhinoceros in Northern and North-Eastern India. This-one of the most interesting of living beasts—has been subjected to fifty years of slaughter as idiotic in its needless cruelty as is the similar destruction of the gigantic gaur—the noblest of all living oxen—in Southern India and the Malay Peninsula. This one-horned rhinoceros is a harmless beast when unprovoked, keeps within the depths of the great forests, and does not issue forth to destroy crops or annoy the natives. It has a gestation period lasting two years, and does not breed before it reaches the age of fifteen to twenty years, so that its rate of increase is very slow. Unless immediate measures are taken to prohibit—and to get the native sovereigns likewise to prohibit—the killing of the one-horned rhinoceros in Northern India and Assam, in a few more years it must be added to the The two-horned rhinoceros of the list of extinct mammals. Ganges delta and Further India is fortunately not quite so harassed, as it offers less interesting trophies to the sportsman.

There should therefore be in some parts of India sanctuaries of relatively small area in which nothing whatever should be killed—not even poisonous snakes. These may be obnoxious to man when they enter his dwellings or frequent the vicinity of his towns, and under those conditions should be shown no mercy. Yet to the biologist—and with the spread of education of a reasonable kind we shall all be biologists before long—these poisonous snakes are objects of the greatest interest, and might well be allowed to linger in a few sanctuaries of the most select kind. As their natural enemies among beasts and birds would be similarly protected, nature would see to it that they

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri did not multiply inconveniently. When there was any appearance of abundance of animal types in these special game sanctuaries, it might be open to the Imperial Government of India to allow the conservator of the sanctuary to capture examples for exhibition in public zoological gardens.

In the larger game sanctuaries some interference on the part of the conservators with natural conditions might be permitted so that, for example, pheasants and pea-fowl might be protected to a certain extent against snakes or the smaller carnivores; and deer, antelope, and wild oxen receive special encouragement. In others, again, lions, leopards, and tigers (and, by the by, there should be at once established a small sanctuary for the lion at Kathiawar, where he still exists) should be allowed to do just as they pleased, even if it led to the diminution of other occupants of the sanctuary. In all probability even these fierce carnivores in course of time would become as susceptible to kind treatment as have the bears in the Yellowstone Park of the United States, and would be quite approachable by the new class of sportsmen fortunately growing up among us, the people who pursue wild game with a camera and not a rifle.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

## PAYMENT BY PREMIUM VERSUS PAYMENT BY FEE

Some little time ago a letter appeared in one of our weekly journals in which the writer, a medical man in a Midland town, related the remarkable circumstance that he and his partner had not had occasion to visit a single patient in four days, although they 'enjoyed' a clientèle of nearly 4000 persons. Recollection of this letter has times and oft afforded me much solace, when for days at a time no patient has called for my services. In a country practice with a little less than half that clientèle, such periods of enforced idleness often occur in the course of the year, and I cannot think that these experiences are uncommon in other practices, town or country.

I know, of course, that the general sickness rate has been declining for years, but it seemed to me that in my own district the decline was moving at an abnormal pace. Accordingly in November I proceeded to investigate, and found that the income I derive from private practice, as distinguished from contract practice, has been actually stationary in amount for twelve years. . Further search discovered the fact that the population that I can regard as my own clientèle has increased by about three hundred in that time. Obviously, then, my income from private practice must diminish unless the increase of population continues. In other country districts, and in towns, conditions must be more or less similar, though increase of population is generally met by increase of doctors. With a stationary population income could only be augmented by gatherings from the flocks of other shepherds. An attempt to increase fees would probably defeat its object, and a 'speeding up' in the way of making more visits per case must not be thought of.

It will, I think, be admitted that there is now going on a general steady decrease in the amount of work that falls to the general practitioner (consultants are out of my ken, but one does hear whispers that there is consternation even in Harley Street) and a constant decline of the income derivable therefrom. The causes of this lessened and lessening sickliness in the body of the public are before our eyes. The agencies at work in the com-

munity all tending to ward off illness, to nip it in the bud, and, without our assistance, even to cure it when developed, are very numerous. I think most of them are to be found in the following list: Medical officers of health, school medical officers, midwives, druggists, patent medicines, hospitals, nursing homes, isolation hospitals, village and district nurses, sanatoriums, holidays, cycling and motoring, games of all sorts, simple living, vegetarianism (?), ambulance, nursing and health lectures, medical advice in the lay Press, popular medical books, bonesetters, increased facilities for travel. Nearly all these agencies are of recent birth or introduction, and there can be no possible doubt that their combined effect in reducing the need to call in the doctor must be in the aggregate enormous.

To contemplate the above list must be perfectly appalling for the doctor who lives by fees and whose very existence is at stake. Moreover, most of these agencies have not been working during a whole generation—they haven't got into their stride yet. Their effect is only just beginning to manifest itself. The list, too, is growing every year. The business of doctor, as hitherto worked on the time-honoured and undoubtedly dignified method of pay for services rendered, is all too obviously a business that is wasting daily under our very noses, and apparently it would pass the wit of man to devise a remedy for the rot that is eating at our vitals. We not only have made, and do make, no resistance to the spread of most of these influences, but to those most potent to harm us we actually lend our aid. We provide from our ranks medical officers of health and school medical officers, who promptly go over to the enemy and exert all the knowledge and power they possess to prevent from coming to us the supplies that sustain us. We actually provide the enemy with weapons, such as midwives and nurses, ambulance, nursing and health lectures, with which to sap our food supply. How long can we last out? The ring round us is getting stronger and closer, and if relief comes not, the end cannot be far off. Relief from outside is not to be hoped for-the only chance for the beleaguered garrison is to cast away its old wornout weapons and to adopt a new and effective arm.

The system on which we have relied for work and sustenance is, under the actual condition of things, falling short of our needs. Payment by fee as a source of income is failing, because there are fewer sick people to provide the fees. The more sick people there are the more fees we get; we thrive best when the people are dropping with faintness. Though we do not knock the man down, yet finding him down we demand money for helping him up and putting him on his feet again. In any other sphere of life this kind of action would be considered immoral. (Even

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri scout-boys are taught that it is immoral to receive pay for deeds of help and kindness.) True that in his distress the sufferer often promises to pay and does not: and true that in many cases the fallen man can only afford to reward us with a 'small cash fee' paid at the time we give the lift. Wrong as it seems and is, considered in an ethical sense, it is an action we are all committing day after day. Now and again a bitter jibe is hurled at us by a passer-by, but secure in our sense of uprightness and proper dealing, it has never occurred to us that our conduct has been anything but perfectly dignified and proper, humane and altruistic.

Let us now examine this system at close quarters. ask for fees for work done. The amount of the fees ought to be exactly proportionate to work done. But we find the fee varying in the same practice from half-a-crown up to a guinea, or from sixpence up to five shillings, without relation to the work done. The fee is generally supposed to bear some connexion with the pecuniary means of the patient, but if we compare the halfcrown from the pocket of the labourer with the half-guinea we extract from the merchant rejoicing in an income of 1000l. a year, we discover that the poor man pays a day's wage, and the wellto-do man a fifth part of his daily income for the service rendered. So it is manifest that the fee has but the vaguest relation to the income of the patient. Inquiry will also show that it has the least possible relation to rent; and even if it had a close relation to rent, rent has but an indefinite association with income; so that, for instance, it is not possible to charge a uniform fee down a long row of houses. A uniform fee over a layer of patients we imagine to be on the same pecuniary level would press heavily on the man with a family and but lightly scratch the bachelor. The fee, then, varies within the widest limits, and has no definite relation either to the income or the rent of the person paying it.

Let us now probe for the meaning of 'work done' or 'service rendered.' This 'work done' we at once perceive has a value that varies as wildly as the weather. At one visit it may be a life-saving service that we render, at the next we may merely have to provide material for a trivial chat. Moreover the value to the patient of the 'work done,' when considered in a medical sense, has the utmost diversity. It is not customary, apart from operations, to consider 'work done' in a medical sense at all in measuring the fee charged. 'Work done' resolves itself into 'visits' or 'consultations,' and as such is gaily entered in our books. (It is rather ludicrous to think that 'cash' practices should flourish both at the bottom and the top of the profession!) We charge for the 'visit,' the value of which, it is evident, is inconstant and variable. But we can see that even when we

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lump all the service we render into 'a visit' we are yet dealing with a thing of multifarious intent. A dozen factors need to be considered in estimating the value of 'a visit,' apart from the service rendered to the patient which itself changes infinitely, as we have just observed. There are the time of day or night at which the visit is made, the distance travelled, the weather. state of roads and contour of country. A journey six miles out in one direction in fine weather would involve the consumption of a trifling amount of energy, while a call four miles off into the hills in the opposite direction on a rough night in January might be absolutely exhausting. But fees are not governed by considerations of weather, of actual physical labour expended or of the nature of the case. The fee for the visit is the same whether the case be one of pneumonia or gumboil. It has no evident connexion either with the amount or value of the service rendered to the patient, and seems to bear no relation to the physical or psychical energy consumed in rendering the service.

Then, again, how is it possible to gauge the worth of the visit as made by the newly fledged practitioner and the physician of high degrees and experience? It may be they are partners in the same practice, and charge the same fee. The medical man who 'insists on a small cash payment' at the East End may have at the same time gone through the same strenuous examinations, and be in every way as capable and experienced as his confrère at the West End who is paid a guinea for a service which in a medical sense is much less important and efficacious. It is apparent, then, that the value of the visit, the service rendered, the work done, in its relation to the fee charged, is perfectly nebulous and intangible, and that there is no standard of value, nor in the nature of things can there be. The amount of the fee is a sum fixed at the will of the doctor performing the service, and in actual practice is really governed and determined by the capacity and readiness to pay of the person served. Peradventure, the estimate is found to exceed the expectation of the person served, and the demand has either to be reduced or

Having made our 'visit' and at last arrived at the exact figure of the fee to be charged for the 'work performed,' the consideration now before us is, naturally, when shall the next visit be made? One doctor will be of a sanguine disposition, and always eager to see hopeful signs. Another, it may chance, is the unfortunate possessor of a bilious and melancholy temperament, and rather inclined to take a gloomy view of things in general, and his cases in particular. For reasons psychological we may safely predict that the sanguine visitor will not get through as many visits per year as the bilious gentleman. The caustic Nineteenth Century

dignity saved by entering the debt in the ledger for future

reviewer <sup>1</sup> tells us that most doctors make as many visits as they think the patient can pay for, but though this is not the first nor the hundredth time the accusation has been cast at the profession—I merely quote to show that the system of fees does lay us open to this kind of attack—it cannot be denied that dread of making more visits than the case requires does operate with most of us, though obviously the more case-hardened would feel indifference to public opinion. Doubtless a reputation so acquired would work its own downfall. But it is a fact that one hears accusations of this nature made against individual medical men.

That temperament alone does affect the number of visits doctors pay to their patients is demonstrated in midwifery practice, in which there can be no question of 'making fees.' One doctor will visit every day for a fortnight, and another will call three times in what he considers the regulation seven days. In this class of practice it is usual to charge a fixed fee, which a prospective patient can ascertain months before she needs the service, so that the number of 'subsequent' visits makes no

difference to the fee charged.

Enough has now been said to exhibit the uncertainty, the instability, the variability, the unsteadiness of the basis on which stands our system of payment for work done. It is a system that crushes the poor, weighs heavily on the middling-to-do, and may embarrass even the rich. It has been claimed that it is 'the only method of payment that consorts with the dignity of a noble profession,' though I think it must be conceded that the lower the fee the thinner the dignity. I grant that it is the only system possible in consulting and operating work, although the want of uniform proportion between service rendered and fee charged must often be glaringly evident both to the charger and the charged. It has often come into my mind that in taking the amount of a day's wages from a servant-girl or a day-labourer I have been doing something that as a member of a humane calling I ought not to have done. One must live! Yes. service was worth it! Yes. But the thought nevertheless leaves me uneasy. How much happier we doctors would be if we had not to charge for our services; if we could discard from our minds all the thoughts that accompany a commercial transaction! Such a state of bliss can never be ours, however, so long as society rests on its present foundation. If all our dealings with our patients could be promptly settled for cash as soon as transacted, how nearly perfectly happy should we not be! Such beatitude is not for us. We are panting under the weight of a system which is crushing the breath out of us, which is overwhelming us with the load of bad debts that cling to it like limpets to

<sup>&#</sup>x27; 'The Insurance Bill, the Doctors and National Policy,' by Harry Roberts, July 1911.

the rock. Bad debts are the bane, the bugbear of medical practice, and they are spawned in this system of payment by fee. What anxiety, what anguish, what forebodings we endure in the period—years long it may be—that may perchance intervene between service rendered and fee paid!

A most pathetic commentary on this system of payment by bills is the letter of 'A Suburban Doctor's Wife,' which, as 'regular as the clock' about Christmas-time, appears on a prominent page of one of our most respectable and most widely circulated halfpenny morning journals. In words that would draw tears from a stone, she dilates upon the extreme inconvenience she and her consœurs suffer through the reprehensible habit people have acquired in putting off settlement of their doctors' bills until all else are squared up. She appeals to gentle readers to make efforts to deliver themselves from the evils of this mischievous mismanagement of their affairs. She exhorts them to make solemn resolutions that for the New Year and ever afterwards the doctors shall be placed at least half-way up the list of 'bills to be paid.' In her annual letter one notices that she never gives thanks for past favours, but always, poor thing! goes on hoping, appealing to, and invoking her obdurate readers to pay up-if it is only a little on account. She tells them how bad debts are being piled up in her struggling husband's books (she knows, because she 'does' them), and that she really cannot see how she will be able to manage to make ends meet ends if things do not mend soon. Tradesmen, she ventures to point out, expect and exact prompt payment of their bills, so why should doctors, who are at the beck and call of everybody day and night, rain and shine, year in and year out, be thrust to the back region of a patient's memory directly the said patient gets on his feet again? She thinks he has forgotten!

It was thoughts engendered by a contemplation of my ledger that induced me years ago—not to write to the papers—but to make efforts to get my working-class clients to join my surgery club. The labourer or fisherman I knew could not pay his doctor's bill without depriving himself or his dependents of something he or they needed. Many of them were living on too narrow a margin to find money enough for sick benefit insurance. Some would apply for admission to my club whose lives I knew were damaged, and for years I refused entry to these miserables. But gradually it dawned upon me that even invalid and mature applicants could be safely accepted at increased rates. This plan has been in operation in my practice for years now with success, and I doubt whether there are many practices in which such an apparently hazardous venture has been made. In action the work runs quite smoothly and satisfactorily. The premium—

which I fix myself on my own estimate of the health value of the proposer—is paid quarterly in advance, and the payment is entered on a card which the member keeps.

I stated a little while back that in November it occurred to me to investigate my affairs. Having noted the facts previously mentioned with regard to income and falling sickness rate, I was further urged to find out what proportion of my income was yielded by contract work. I cannot, of course, give figures, but I may say that I was astounded at the result of my careful inquiry. I will describe the process followed, but before doing so I must define a term I am obliged to introduce in order to avoid a confusion that one constantly meets with at divisional meetings and in the correspondence of every week's medical journals. The error consists in describing all the people of one's practice as 'patients.' I shall use the word 'client' to connote the person, club or private, who, though not at the moment ill, would if he became ill come to me for treatment. A client becomes a patient when he falls sick. How many of our clients never degenerate into patients it is impossible to say, but there are many such in every practice. One of my old club clients was found dead in his back-yard a little while ago, and his wife testified that 'he had never had a penny of sick-pay or a bottle of medicine in all his born days.' Other clients only become patients at their latter end, or at rare intervals, for short periods. I have known a household of ten persons which in eight years did not furnish me with a single patient, and for how long after I left the district that family remained a thorn in the side of my successor I am unable to say. On the other hand, of course, a few-very few-clients are perpetual patients, and never off our visiting lists.

To return, the feat in accountancy was accomplished in this wise. I added up the receipts from all my contract appointments-society, slate, and surgery clubs, Post Office and union. Then the names of the persons contracted for were counted. The next business-which involved a little more trouble-was to count the names entered in the ledger of persons now living, to add the members of each household, annexing as well as I could remember the names of all people in the district who I knew would come to me if ill. Finally, I ascertained my income from private practice over the latter group. I found that half my income was derived from contract work, and half from private practice. And now comes the surprise. Most of us would expect the examination to show that it required a much larger number of contract clients to furnish the first half of my income than it would private clients to yield the second half. But exactly the contrary proved to be the fact! One-third (contract) of my

total clients return as much income as the other two-thirds who are private clients! If all my practice were 'private' I should be earning less income by one-fourth than I am now doing; and if, on the other hand, all my work was 'contract,' I should be making more than I am actually doing. The motives which hitherto have caused me to encourage my people to join my surgery club—the endeavour to avoid bad debts; the idea that poor people cannot pay doctor's bills—are now supported by a powerful ally, personal gain. Manifestly the best thing I could do for myself would be to succeed in persuading all my clients to insure for medical attendance.

To prevent any misunderstanding, I will mention that my lowest visiting and surgery fee is half-a-crown, and it is rarely I get a visiting fee as high as half-a-guinea. My people are agricultural and other labourers, artisans, fishermen, farmers, gentry, and visitors. In no way is it different from most other country practices. All fees for midwifery and minor operations are included in the income from private practice. The average premiums I receive from all my club members would work out at five shillings.

This discovery, if it is found to have universal application, must have a far-reaching effect—it completely upsets deep-rooted ideas by which we have all been profoundly influenced. Let us see what it means to us, now that we know the insurance method is more remunerative to us than the method of payment for work done. Hitherto we have all imagined that our club work was a form of charity to the working-classes, inasmuch as we were under the conviction that we were not being paid adequately for what we were giving. My insured are nearly all workers, and the non-insured are workers and masters. The first group pays the same amount in aggregate as the second, though the latter is the larger. Surely it follows that the insured are at least paying me adequately as compared with the noninsured, unless it should turn out that I do more work for the contractors who form a third of my clientèle than I do for the private clients who comprise two-thirds of the total crowd. I am sorry now that I have not been in the habit of keeping a record of the club work done-this omission is due to the delusion I have been harbouring-but I am quite sure there is not more sickness among the insured per head than there is Why should there be? Probably there is less, though it appears that there ought to be more, as the one class calls soon and the other later. The great majority of the insured have 'passed the doctor.' A 'Rural Practitioner' in the Lancet the other day did not sign his name to his letter, because after relating how little he had done for his Post Office people in five years, he feared the Postmaster-General might cancel the appointment. Not one per cent. of the whole of my clientèle is at the present moment on my visiting list!

A mistake that crops up frequently in the correspondence columns of the medical journals is shown in these typical questions: 'Who but a lunatic would expect a doctor to give a year's attendance for the price of a dozen collars?' and 'What value will the patient place on services obtained for six shillings a year?' Now, if a doctor attends a club patient with the idea in his head that he is only being paid six shillings for his present visit and for any further visits in the next twelve months this patient may require, he is making a serious mistake. It is a mistaken idea that affects profoundly the whole of his conduct of the case. With this notion in his head he naturally feels himself in the position of one who is giving a lot for next to nothing: that he is being exploited, imposed upon, sweated and victimised; 'that he need not give more than value for the money'; 'that his sense of honour does not compel him to do more than earn his money.' Thinking so, how can he possibly give his best to his club patient? Is it a wonder that his work should be perfunctorily performed, scamped, rushed through? Visiting a patient this very morning, I was conscious of the great effort it required to prevent the continual obtrusion of the thought 'This man ought not to be in the club; I ought to have 3s. 6d. for this visit!

The marvel is that insurance for medical attendance as adopted and administered by clubs and societies has not gone to pieces ages ago. I don't care how kind-hearted a doctor may be, he cannot—it is not natural that, while harbouring such thoughts at the bedside, he could—bestow upon the case all the attention that he is accustomed to give to his private patients. These thoughts are all offshoots of the one mistaken idea. But the same idea is just as prevalent among our club members and in the mind of the public generally. By a curious coincidence on a morning round since commencing this paper, three of my club patients expressed the same feelings: 'Doctor, I don't like to give you all this trouble for the little I pay you.' One of them actually took half a sovereign from under his pillow and begged me to accept it. This patient has been a client of the practice for over thirty years, paying twelve shillings a year, and has only lately begun to fail. Needless to say, I gave these worthy people an elementary discourse on insurance. Obviously, to the questions above quoted, one answers that though it is true the patient pays only six shillings per annum, the service rendered to the individual is paid for by the combined premiums of all the club members. Once the significance of this answer

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is grasped it will be easy to see that the larger the number over which the risks of illness are spread the more lucrative the results, pecuniarily stated, are to the doctor.

During a discussion at one of our meetings recently a member stated that he had the names of a hundred working people on his books who had each paid him an average bill of a sovereign during the last year, and he failed to see that he would be better off if those people paid him a premium of six shillings per annum. A practised speaker would have pointed out the fallacy in this argument at once. If the member had taken out a list of the patients who had each paid him a sovereign, not only last year. but for each of the last four or five years, he would have found that he had no two lists alike—that in fact the total number of names would be five or six hundred: that the total clients. amounting to perhaps five or six hundred, had furnished him with a hundred patients every year. So that if all these clients had been paying him a premium of six shillings per head, he would have been better off. In another form the answer might be made thus: Let the member take the names of the hundred workmen who paid him a sovereign last year, find out how much these same hundred paid him in each of five previous years; the result, I imagine, would be the same—that he would have gained pecuniarily if there had been paid for each of the hundred a capitation fee during all the five years.

I come now to a consideration of the advantages of this system of payment per capita to the doctor. They are so conspicuous that I will only mention them in brief. They are: increase of income in spite of a declining sickness rate; income comes in like a salary punctually at the quarter: no office work is required (most of us would thank heaven for that favour). I don't know what is the money value of this office work, but I believe accountants are required to do the copious bookwork of large practices. No worry with debt collecting; a desire (that no cynic will sneer at) to cure the case as soon as possible; sprightliness in preventing sickness and in cultivating better habits of life in the insured individual; cordial co-operation with health authorities in improving the public health; the position of the doctor in public regard will be greatly enhanced, since the same object is being pursued by every member of the community—the interests of doctors and

Are there any advantages to the insured person which a private client does not get? Several. All the days of his clienthood he has a right to and can have the ungrudging and hearty service of his doctor in directing him in the path that leads to health and long life—he will be quite certain of this benefit—and is it a small one? It may be too soon yet to feel certain that the

insured person will get the best his doctor can give him when he lapses from a state of physical purity, but once the doctor has shed the prejudices that warp his estimate of the insured patient's 'value,' once he is convinced that the insured has all the rights of the private patient, there will arise a determination to give of his best, and this will govern his every action. The insured knows, too, that his case will receive exactly the amount of attention which his doctor's professional judgment deems necessary; more rather than less, because his doctor can act on his unbiased judgment and cannot be swayed by fear of public comments on his over-zealousness in visiting. Aware as he is that his doctor wants him off his hands, he is assured that he will be given every benefit that medical science prescribes for his case. Another, not mean advantage, that will accrue to the insured-proceeding as it does from the fact that he pays his doctor by easy lifelong instalments and not by a lump sum after a period of sickness and unemployment-is that he will be more able and ready to call in expert assistance should his case require it. Under present conditions of payment by fee, I am confident that a wish for a consultation is often dismissed or disturbed by dread of the coming 'doctor's bill.' The desire to feel 'that everything has been done that can be done 'prevails in the hearts of the working classes as strongly as among the well-to-do.

I will consider now the drawbacks which this per capita system entails upon the doctor practising under it. Two most pestilent are said to be trivial calls and calls at inconvenient hours. Both these faults are equally common in contract and private practice, and can only be checked by educating our clients if they are 'contract,' and penalising them if they are 'private.' It is strange but true that some doctors suffer more from these annoyances than do others. The other day, in conversation, I heard it stated that Dr. So-and-So was never out at night, while Dr. S. was up every night in the week. I spoke of temperament a little while ago; can it be possible that 'trivial calls and calls at inconvenient hours' depend not so much on the patients as on the doctors? It is an interesting subject for research.

It has been well remarked by a correspondent in the British Medical Journal that 'private patients, from motives of expense, only call us when they need.' But do they always call us when they need, do they always pay us for the call, and do we only call when they need us? A friend of mine was called once to see a child with measles at the house of one of his wealthiest clients. He wrote a prescription, gave full directions as to diet, &c., was interviewed at length by the mother, and informed on leaving that he need not call again unless he was called, and

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that if he should be needed she would call him. Days went by: he was not called, as he rather hoped and expected he would be. and, quite naturally, I think, he concluded he was not needed. so of course he did not-it would not have been proper for him to-call. A few weeks afterwards, on calling at his druggist's. he heard that the whole family of eight children had heroically struggled through measles on the strength of that prescription. those directions, and an intelligent perusal of the Family Physician.

Another objection made against per capita payment is that 'it will give us enormously enhanced work.' Is, then, the nation suddenly going to take on fearsome diseases the while we are turning our private into insured practices; to pick up germs we have never dreamt of; to hurt itself in quantities the profession has never hitherto experienced? The sickness rate is falling steadily, and only a plague or an invasion or civil war would give more work than we have already or are justified in expecting. Busy times there are sure to be in all large practices, be it at west or east end of the town. The work of the insurance doctor is no more, but just as likely to be scuffled and rushed at these times as that of the doctor whose practice is exclusively private. The per capita system is said to foster malingering. Malingering occurs when sick pay exceeds wages, and is not unknown even among well-to-do folks insured against accident. A person, however, insured for medical attendance is not always, and need not be, insured for sickness or accident benefit. Very many of my insured clients are not insured in benefit societies-there is never any malingering in this class of client.

These are all the disadvantages that can attach to a system of payment per capita. Numerous others brought forward have no relevance against the system as such, and any weight they have at all bears only against the system as adopted and administered by the various societies and clubs. An unbiased scrutiny of all the abominations and faults attributed to club doctoring will, I think, result in the conclusion that they are all, every They tumble over each one, due to the doctors themselves. other in their eagerness to secure club appointments-it is the salary, the certain income they want-and is it a wonder that premiums should fall to sweating point, and that club officials and club members should get their heads swelled? Competition for club appointments is the root and origin of all the ghastly evils of doctors' club work—and I cannot suggest a remedy; no remedy can be applied until every qualified man becomes a member of the Association. Lancashire cotton weavers can, and do, kick blacklegs into submission; the only weapon we can employ is ostracism-but if the medical blackleg is already in Coventry,

where else is there to send him?

It is insurance for medical attendance of our own private clients that I am recommending, not club work. The 'club' is deservedly in bad odour in the profession, though one must admit the verity of my charge that we are ourselves and alone to blame for the state of things therein existing. Clubs can be, and are in hundreds, paying a fair premium, and the conditions attaching to the doctors' work in them are not in any way irksome. The system of payment by premiums has a sound and scientific foundation in the doctrine of averages, and insurance for medical attendance is no more a gamble than is insurance against death or burglary or sickness or broken windows. It is applicable to all classes of our clientèle, rich and poor. As far as I can see there is no other method by which we general practitioners can maintain or enlarge our incomes in the face of a constantly falling sickness rate.

I have attempted in a poor way in this paper to put every consideration I can conceive, perceive or remember, for and against the system of insurance for medical attendance in its every phase and aspect, and I now leave it to the thoughtful examination of all those of my brethren who have these many years been watching the steady decline of the nation's sickness rate. Insurance is in the air, and the people are awakening to the advantages it gives to them. If we medical practitioners can only convince ourselves of the profit, material and moral, which the system will undoubtedly, in my opinion, bring to the profession, there will be the dawn of a new era.

My own position is somewhat anomalous. I am torn both ways. To be 'busy' brings joy to the half of me that is private practitioner and sorrow to the portion that is insurance doctor. If I were all contract doctor I could smile when the people smiled, and weep when they weep. To pass a day without seeing a single patient—as happens not unseldom—now only generates a feeling that is neither one thing nor the other. I am half-hearted whether I weep or chortle in my joy. If I were wholly a private practitioner I should never be laughing when the people laughed, or crying when they cried: so there is no enjoyment for me either way. If I were 'insurance doctor' undividedly, pure and simple, I could join in at any time, whether folks were laughing or crying.

I think it is generally conceded by the profession at this date that the actuaries who framed the financial clauses of the Insurance Act had no alternative but to adopt payment by capitation in preference to payment by fee. Under the latter system the funds needed would be uncertain and incalculable, and most doctors now understand that a Chancellor of the Exchequer

must be able to make an approximate estimate of the funds he will be called upon to provide for the working of the Act. The Council of the British Medical Association was quick to recognise this necessity, and has bowed to it. Unfortunately, until quite lately, it has not been possible to establish any relation between the two methods of payment. All efforts to discover the exact premium that would be equivalent to a given fee per visit have proved futile. For months doctors by the hundred have been struggling to find what premium, paid yearly by members of a group of insured persons, would be of equal value financially to a fee of half-a-crown per visit, charged for attendance on individuals from a group of the same size and class who may be disabled by illness or accident in the course of the same period. The estimates have varied from 25s. down to 8s. 6d. The latter figure is the minimum demanded by the Association, but no one can pretend that it is anything more than a guessa mere compromise. These efforts have failed for two principal reasons. One is due to the failure to distinguish between clients and patients, and the other lies in the impossibility of standardising 'the visit.' As doctors vary enormously in their propensity to visit-no two are alike in their methods of work or in their temperaments-it is obvious that no two estimates can be alike. Take a group of five hundred employed persons chosen at random, young and old, male or female, sound or damaged. What annual premium should be paid per head, to yield the doctor an income equal to the amount he would receive by attendance on such of the five hundred as would fall sick or lame in the ensuing twelve months? His visiting fee, we will say, is 2s. 6d. The answers to this simple question have had the wildest variance-clear proof the they were arrived at by erroneous calculations upon mis-The Association, as we know, insists on 8s. 6d. Investigation of the books of my practice shows that an average premium of 5s. gives me better returns than private practice over a group of the same number at fees of which 2s. 6d. is the lowest.

Obviously the relation of premium to fee must depend upon the visiting habits of the doctor and upon the sickness rate. The visiting habit will always vary with the mentality of the doctor, and so far it has proved an incalculable quantity. The sickness rate has not yet been worked out, but it varies with the time of the year, the weather, the nature of employment of individuals, the amount of employment, the prevalence of epidemics, conditions of housing, and a dozen other factors. But it is, in this kingdom, for ever on the decline. In any two practices working alongside under the same sickness rate the relation of premium to fee will differ, because of the diverse habits as to visiting of the two doctors. Every medical man would like to know what

premium per head would give him the same return of income as do his present visiting fees. He is at a loss in his search for truth in all the maze of conflicting views that confront him at meetings and in the medical journals week by week.

Quite recently I published in the Lancet a method of solving this question of equivalence. My method will give results that approximate very closely to the truth in every practice. Results would be exactly, mathematically correct if, as in my practice, the precise number of persons comprising the clientèle of the practice could be ascertained. A doctor will know, of course, how many contract clients he has, but he can only make the vaguest guess as to the number of private clients he has. No town doctor, and very seldom a country doctor, can tell how many clients it requires to furnish him with his income. of his clients-and they are his because they intend to go to him when ill-never become actual patients. There must be thousands of people walking the streets to-day, clients of no one knows whom. They pay no one anything now, but will be premium paying in the near future. Any doctor, however, knows who have been, who are, and who are not his patients. As it is then generally impossible for a doctor to arrive at the total of his clientèle-a state of things that accounts largely for erroneous estimates-I have had to adapt my plan to the ledger as it stands now and not as it may stand through the next five years. All that is necessary is to take from the ledger the names of a hundred individual working-class patients now alive, and add up what they have paid to the practice in 1908, again in 1909, 1910 and 1911. They must be the same individuals in each count. by making a total of the sums received from them in the four years and dividing it by 400, we get the average payment of each patient per annum. I am justified from the facts of my own practice in believing that in the majority of practices-notwithstanding excessive sickness rates and the most extreme grades of fussiness—the result of this investigation will show an average figure well below the 6s. offered us under the Act.

I should point out that this plan of taking patients' names instead of clients' is really mathematically against me, inasmuch as it implies that a person will be a patient at least once in five years. As I said before, thousands of clients, potential patients, are not on the ledger at all, are paying no doctor anything (but will soon be insured persons paying a premium).

Also one would get a truer equivalent with a larger count—say 500. The same method can be carried out with all classes of patients. For instance, one might wish to know what premium would tally with a 3s. 6d. or a 5s. fee per visit, and so on. It is not probable that the worked-out average equivalent will be

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the same in any two practices. There will be fractional differences accounted for by variation in propensity-to-visit of the doctor and health-value of the clientèle.

By this method, and in no other way, can it be ascertained once for all how much per head the 'employed' classes pay to the general practitioner. The amount when discovered may cause some little surprise. I believe it is a fraction under 3s.; for what we do now for 3s. per head we should under the Act be paid 6s.

I venture to say that the publication of this plan of mine last October would have solved then what is still in dispute, namely the question what premium fairly represents the 2s. 6d. per visit. My books say emphatically that 5s. is ample cover. The Act offers 6s., but the Association threatens to call a general strike of doctors rather than consent to accept less than 8s. 6d. The average club premium throughout the country is said to be 4s. With many clubs 6s. has been the customary premium, and wherever this holds the work and pay have been satisfactory to both doctors and club members. In these cases I am confident in saying that we club doctors, who are shortly to be called upon by the Association to throw up our appointments, will do so with the greatest reluctance and the greatest misgivings; and, moreover, with a deep sense of distrust of the policy dictated by our leaders. The premium demanded by the Association is indefensible in so far as it claims to have mathematical relation to any visiting fee whatever, and the sole argument in its favour is its conformity with the rate paid by the Post Office—a rate which is generally acknowledged to be generously remunerative to those holding the appointments. To refuse the Government terms means the rejection of a premium that has given universal satisfaction to those fortunate enough to be receiving that figure, and it is a premium which will to the average club doctor give an immediate increase of fifty per cent. on his income for exactly the same work.

The safeguards ensured by the Act would in themselves be worth some sacrifice, inasmuch as they give us boons that we could never acquire by our own efforts—they are surely worth the sacrifice of the difference between the claim and the offer. To be given security of tenure of office; to be rid for ever of the degrading incidents that gather round the election of a club doctor; to have freedom to refuse disagreeable patients; to be armed against malingerers; to be free to exercise our judgment as to visiting, unbiased by dread of malicious tongues; to have full liberty of scope in advising measures for prevention of ill health, a liberty that has never yet been ours, and measures which will lighten our burden without at the same time lightening our purses—ought not all these things to be counted unto us for gain? Will

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri not the institution of a uniform rate of premium smother one at

least of the causes of professional jealousy and envy?

For a strike to be successful, justice and right must be on the side of the strikers. Is it so in this instance? We claim payment equivalent to half-a-crown per visit to the sick and lame The Association is mistaken in declaring that 8s. 6d. is the capitation equivalent of this half-crown fee. I assert that 6s., the amount offered us, is ample cover-nay, more, that it is a generous acceptance of our claim. My own investigations have proved this to my satisfaction, and with the plan before him it is within the power of every doctor in general practice to test for himself the truth of my contention. I have no doubt as to the results.

In anticipation of jibes and jeers as to the colour of my political emblems, I may say finally that I have never in my life voted for a Liberal candidate.

B. HALL.

P.S.—The reader who refers back will notice that on a preceding page I ventured to say that if my plan for ascertaining once for all how much per head the employed classes pay-as private patients-to the general practitioner-the plan given in detail in this article, but which first saw daylight in a letter of mine appearing in the Lancet in May-if, I say, this plan could have been thought of and adopted in October last, much yearning would have been spared us, and there would have been no agitation at all on the question of adequacy of pay. This plan, which the British Medical Association might have put into action itself any time since early in May, has now been seized upon by the Government. The news of the moment is that Mr. Lloyd George has insisted that accountants shall examine the books of doctors in town and country in order to ascertain the equivalence of fee in half-crown practice to premium offered and demanded. As Mr. Runciman racily put it, in his address at Lincoln the other day, 'The Government has at last come to grips with the doctors.' In my mind there is no spark of doubt as to the result of the inquiry. What was in November a mere suspicion, founded merely upon an examination of my own books, that the system of payment by premium was possibly, after all, not so utterly undignified in its essentials as I had, with the rest of my confreres, been brought up to believe, has now developed by a constant accretion of confirmatory evidence into an absolute certainty that the six shillings offered under the Act is actually more per head than the average amount paid us by the classes who as private patients are charged

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri 2s. 6d. a visit. Whether the result of the Government's investigation confirms my conclusion or not, there can be no question that this plan alone is calculated to extinguish the prevailing doubt as to whether the Government offer is generous, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has so repeatedly declared it is, or unspeakably niggardly, and totally inadequate, as the majority of the members of the medical profession sincerely believe it to be.

Hitherto the parties have wrangled over unimportant details, and have at no time been on common ground. By the method now in operation the verdict upon this much-vexed question will be given in clear terms, and the dispute will be ended once for all.

B. HALL.

## WHERE WOMEN SIT IN PARLIAMENT

A DISTINGUISHED member of the English suffragist party was told, some little time ago, that a fellow-countrywoman of hers was going to Finland to see how the new electoral system in force there was working.

'Going to Finland!' she exclaimed, almost indignantly. 'That is not the place for her to go to. She ought to go to New Zealand.'

Now to an outsider it would seem that, in the eyes of the faithful suffragist, Finland should rank higher even than New Zealand as a pilgrim's resort; for there not only have women votes, but women sit in Parliament. Finland is the one whole-hogger country in Europe, nay, in the world; the one country where women are on terms of perfect equality with men in all that concerns Parliament. Every Finnish woman who has attained her twenty-fourth year has a vote, just as every Finnish man has: no matter whether she be married or single, she betakes herself to the voting booth under precisely the same conditions as he does. She may not vote, it is true, if she be a criminal, an idiot, a bankrupt, a briber and corrupter, a vagrant, or a pauper; but this can hardly be reckoned as a feminine grievance, seeing that neither may a man vote if thus unfortunate or perverse. If there be a grievance at all in the matter, indeed, it is on the side of the man, as he loses his vote if a soldier on active service, whereas the woman does not lose hers let her follow what calling she will. Moreover the poll tax levied on him is just twice as high as that levied on her.

Nor is it only as an elector that in Finland a woman ranks as the equal of man; she is just as eligible as he is for the office of member of Parliament. So far as the law is concerned, every constituency throughout the land might send a woman to represent it in Parliament, if it chose. Certain constituencies, indeed, do send women to represent them there. In Helsingfors for the last five years women have been formally installed, side by side with men, as law-makers, critics of the Government, framers of interpellations; and there is no valid reason why they should not become Ministers any day were such Tsar Nicholas' pleasure.

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Thus the town really ought to be the Féministes' Mecca; one might expect to find suffragists from all parts of the world flocking there themselves and exhorting their opponents to do likewise.

Oddly enough, however, this is far from being the case, as I soon discovered when I announced my intention of going there; for neither from English suffragists nor yet from foreign did I receive any encouragement at all. On the contrary there was a tendency among them, as I noticed with wonder, to look askance on my project as on something ill-advised. The distinguished English suffragist was by no means the only member of her party who held that it would be better for me to go to the South Seas; while the most brilliant of all foreign suffragists seemed to think that it would be better for me to go anywhere rather than to Finland. This lady waxed mournful at once when she heard where I was going.

'We must admit, I am afraid, that in Finland the change was made a little too suddenly,' she remarked with a sigh. 'The

women there were perhaps hardly ready for votes.'

Evidently she, as her English colleague, was none too proud of this land where her party had scored its first complete victory, was none too sure that the experiment being tried there was working quite satisfactorily. Yet in Finland this experiment, the experiment of placing women politically on a par with men, is certainly being tried under favourable conditions. I doubt, indeed, whether it could be tried in any other country in Europe under conditions equally favourable, with so little risk, at any rate, of entailing disaster.

Finland is a very small country, it must be remembered. It has only some three million inhabitants all told; and it is a country barred by its position from dealing with high politics. It has no foreign policy to decide upon, no question of national defence to consider; it can neither make friends for itself among other nations nor get foes, but must adopt as its own Russia's friends, Russia's foes, and trust to Russia to defend it. Thus it could not, even if it would, work havoc internationally. free indeed to manage its own affairs in its own way. in theory autonomous, in practice it has but little control over its Government, the members of which are appointed by the Russian Tsar, and do what he, or rather what his chief adviser, tells them to do. It cannot even rid itself of an obnoxious Minister, no matter how obnoxious he may be. Practically all that the Finnish Parliament can do, under the present régime, is to utter protests and to pass Bills; and this in the circumstances is heart-breaking work, useless to boot, for the most part; as no heed is paid to its protests, while as for its Bills, they cannot become laws unless the Tsar sanctions them, and sanction them as a rule he does not.

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It has therefore no chance of playing a great rôle either for weal or for woe. Why every County Council in England has more real power than this National Diet has, bound as it now is hand and foot. Experiments fraught with danger, perhaps, if tried in an Imperial Parliament, may therefore be tried there quite safely.

Then Finnish women differ, in some respects, from most other women nearly as markedly as the Finnish Parliament differs from other Parliaments. In Finland co-education is for all classes the order of the day: boys and girls sit side by side not only in the National schools, but in the gymnasia and at college. They work together and play together, and are popularly supposed to be imbued with the same ideas; they speak in the same debating clubs; they even, in this our day, some of them, wear the same sort of caps, and have their coats cut to look as much alike as possible. Much of the work that in other lands is done by men is done by women in Finland. In the banks there are more female clerks than male; in the post offices, too, and the railway stations. Women even play the mason's labourer there; they hew timber, they load and unload ships. Thus they must have more experience in the practical affairs of life, one might think, than most other women, and therefore be better prepared to use their votes wisely.

Nor is this all. The Finlanders as a race are extremely intelligent. Quite recently I was lucky enough to have the chance of questioning some of the children in their National schools, and I was simply amazed at the answers I received. It was not only that these boys and girls knew more than most of their kind. but they had infinitely more ideas in their heads. As it is with them, so is it with their elder sisters and mothers. The average woman in Finland is undoubtedly more gifted in some ways than the average woman in other countries; she is intellectually more alert, she has more natural ability, more originality. This even those who approve of her least must admit. She has always taken more interest, too, in public affairs. Finland, it must be remembered, is passing through a grave political crisis; for the last twelve years it has been face to face with a great danger, the danger of being robbed of its constitution and transformed into a Russian province. At such times even children wax political. In Helsingfors, a bright-eyed little fellow, who ought to have had no thought in his head beyond toffy, once informed me quite solemnly that his country was sorely oppressed. Little wonder then that Finnish women, unlike most women, are all more or less politicians at heart.

There is another point of difference between Finnish women and most other women, an important point, too. One reason

why the female suffrage movement is regarded with anxiety in all Catholic countries, in some, too, that are Protestant, is the fear lest, if women could vote, they would vote as their pastors told them to vote, with the result that clericalism would straightway become rampant. So far as Finland is concerned, however, any such fear as this would be absurd, too absurd to be entertained by anyone outside a lunatic asylum. For a woman there would as soon think of asking a chimney-sweep for advice as of asking a pastor. The Finnish Church wields no influence whatever over either men or women, the classes or the masses. In towns, indeed, the masses are as a rule hostile to it, while the classes are indifferent; they never enter a church unless it be for a wedding or a funeral. When one Sunday, some little time ago, an Englishwoman mentioned incidentally to some Finnish ladies that she was going to church, they looked at her in blank amazement. Evidently in their eyes she was the veriest antediluvian. Finland is the only country I know where every woman might have as many votes as she has fingers and toes without any risk whatever of a clerical party being formed. It was not always thus; and why it should be thus is a moot point; but that it is thus all Finnish politicians agree.

The Finnish Parliament being what it is, and Finnish women what they are, the female suffrage experiment ought to prove a

success in Finland, if anywhere, one might think.

The law on which this experiment is based was framed somewhat hurriedly, and at a time of great excitement. 31st of October 1905 there was a general strike in Finland, one which threatened to develop into a civil war. It was started in Helsingfors by the servant-maids, who, after much ringing of bells and sounding of gongs, calmly informed their mistresses that there would be no dinner that day, as they were all going to a public meeting. Within an hour everything was at a standstill in the town, and at a standstill seemed likely to remain, as the whole of the wage-earning classes declared that they would not do another stroke of work until political reforms of the most thoroughgoing kind were granted. At that time all political power was in the hands of the higher classes, with whom, however, the working-classes had theretofore fought loyally and cordially in the great struggle against Russia.

The strike, which lasted only five days, resulted in a complete victory for the strikers. A Bill granting universal suffrage for women as well as for men was drawn up; it passed the Diet almost without debate; and, to the dismay perhaps of some of its framers, it received the assent of the Tsar. It is to the interest of Russia, it must be remembered, that the Finnish Parliament should be

weakened rather than strengthened.

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Under the new law the parliamentary electorate, which under the old law had numbered only about 100,000, was at one blow raised to 1,272,873; and, whereas the 100,000 had all been men, 666,071 of the 1,272,873—i.e. considerably more than half—were women. Last year there were 1,350,058 names on the parliamentary register, and 707,247 of them were the names of women.

Universal suffrage did not come into force in Finland until 1906, and since then five general elections have been held. At the first, that in 1907, 899,347 persons voted; but it is uncertain how many of them were men and how many women, as their votes were all clubbed together. At the second, 416,373 men voted and 401,194 women; at the third, 439,847 men and 412,280 women; at the fourth, 409,880 men and 386,683 women; and at the fifth, 419,491 men and 387,603 women. In 1908, 689 per cent. of the men who could vote did, and 60.3 per cent. of the women; while in 1911 only 65'3 per cent. of the men who could vote did, and only 548 per cent. of the women. Although during these years. 1907-11, the electorate had increased by 77,185, only 3118 more men voted in 1911 than in 1907; while the number of women who voted was actually less by 13,591 in 1911 than in 1908. At every election fewer women vote in country districts, although not in towns.

As in Finland voting is by ballot, it is impossible of course to say how the women who voted did vote; all that is known with any certainty is how men and women together voted; and at every election held under the new system, the great majority of them have so far voted for Extremist candidates. The Extremists would have practically swept the constituencies, indeed, were it not that the rights of minorities are secured by a very skilfully devised system of proportional representation. As it is, at the first election the Social Democrats on the one side secured eighty seats and the Nationalist Old Finns on the other fifty-eight; while the Young Finns, who are Moderate Liberals, secured only twentyfive; and the Swedish party, who represent the cultured class, only twenty-four. At the second election, the Social Democrats gained three more seats, but the Old Finns lost five; and, at the election in 1910, the Social Democrats gained three more seats again, and many more votes. In the present Parliament there are eighty-seven Social Democrats, in a House of 200 members.

Thanks to proportional representation, women could never carry all before them in Finland as they might perhaps in some countries. Still, as there are more women than men on the Finnish parliamentary register—64,436 more at the present time—were all women to vote for women there would of course be more women than men in the Diet. All women do not vote for women, however; on the contrary, the overwhelming majority

of them vote for men. Of that we have proof in spite of the secrecy of the ballot. For in the first Parliament elected under male-cum-female universal suffrage, there were only nineteen women, whereas there were 181 men. This Parliament was speedily dissolved owing to a blunder on the part of the Social Democrats, who unwittingly played into Russia's hands; and in the election that followed women gained six additional seats. At the next election, however, they lost four of the seats they had gained; and at the next again, four more. In the Parliament elected in 1910 there were seventeen women, and in the present Parliament there are only fourteen. Only fourteen women in a House of 200 members! Even the most optimistic of suffragists can hardly derive much comfort from these figures one might think.

Then, sad to say, it has never been a case of quality instead of quantity: by no means all the lady members of the first Parliament could claim to be of importance either personally or socially. When the results of the election became known, indeed, there was heartsearching even among ardent suffragists; for eyes could not be blind to the fact that some of the women elected might, with advantage to the nation, have been rejected, as they were not even as Caesar held that his wife ought to be. Politically fifteen out of the nineteen were Extremists, six being Old Finns and nine Social Democrats. Only one of them belonged to the Swedish party, and two to the Young Finn, while one was an Agrarian. Among them was a pastor's wife, and a farmer's wife, and the deserted wife of a working-man. There was a baroness, too, a seamstress, a mill-hand, a social organiser, and an editor. Some of them were teachers, while others were, or had been, servant-maids. The woman who received most votes, indeed, at the first election, Muria Sillanpää, had been a servant. And a very clever woman she was and is, and as able as she is clever. Had all her colleagues demeaned themselves as adroitly in Parliament as she did, there would be more women there than there are. She herself soon shook the dust of Parliament from off her feet, not choosing to waste her time there when she found, as she did, that the work she could do within its walls was less worth doing than that which she could do outside.

Since 1907 a considerable amount of political 'weeding out' has been done in Finland, with the result that certain feminine factors which, in the first Parliament, made neither for peace nor yet for progress, have been eliminated. In the opinion of impartial observers, the standard alike of ability and of manners among the Lady M.P.'s is certainly higher in the Parliament

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These numbers were given to me by the Finnish Bureau of Statistics, and must, therefore, be correct, even though they differ from the numbers published in certain suffragist periodicals.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri elected in 1911 than it was in that elected in 1907. good reason to be proud, indeed, of more than one of the women who now represent it in Parliament, even though it may have its doubts as to whether these very women might not have done elsewhere better work for the nation than they do for it there. It is not as members of Parliament that either Vera Hjelt, Tekla Hultin, or Jenny af Forselles have won their laurels : before ever they turned their thoughts to politics all the three had already made their mark in the world, one as a factory inspector, one as a statistician, and one again as a teacher. Moreover it is very doubtful whether any of these three ladies would ever have been elected members of Parliament, had universal suffrage pur et simple been the order of the day without proportional representation. Under male-cum-female universal suffrage it is evidently not the highly educated who are the favourite candidates. On the contrary, the women who in Finland receive most votes belong, as a rule, to the uneducated class, or at any rate to the class that has no education beyond that given in what we used to call Board schools. Even in the present Parliament most of the women are of this type; the majority of them can speak no language but Finnish; and not only the higher classes, but the middle classes, can in Finland all speak Swedish. the Extremists are still in the overwhelming majority; for although only one of the fourteen women in the present Parliament is an Old Finn, no fewer than nine of them are Social Democrats.

It is of course still early days for female suffrage in Finland to be weighed in the balance; and were it otherwise it would not be for me, a mere sojourner there, to do the weighing. would smack of presumption on my part, indeed, were I even to attempt to decide whether the fact of women having votes and sitting in Parliament is doing good or evil in the land, is making for or against righteousness. This is a point on which Finlanders alone can speak with authority. Before I had been among them a week I realised this to the full; realised that the only work worth doing, that I could do in this matter, was to try to find out what they thought of the working of the new system, whether they were inclined to sing over it hymns of praise or Tekels; then, this done, to play the faithful reporter. I therefore took to plying with questions every Finlander I came across, no matter whether man or woman, no matter to what class or what party belonging. Is the average member of Parliament wiser and better, more intelligent and more trustworthy, for there being women among the electors as well as men? I inquired. Do the members do their work more efficiently for some of them being women? Are the laws they frame, or try to frame, more just, more humane? Above all—this is a point I raised at every

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turn—what effect is the new system having on the average woman? Is she the better for it or the worse?

The answers I received were, of course, as diverse as diverse could be: I was gravely assured on the one hand that whatever was good in Finland, and on the other, whatever was evil was due to female suffrage. Men and women alike swore to me that there never was a Parliament held in such high esteem as this Parliament in which women were sitting; never one that did its work quite so wisely and well. Men and women alike swore to me also that there never was a Parliament held in such derision as this, never one that did its work quite so badly. It was impressed upon me that the standard of intelligence and statesmanship, as well as of manners and morals, among the M.P.s was infinitely higher than it would have been had women not had political rights; it was impressed on me, too, that the said standard was very much lower. One might have thought, indeed, to hear some Finlanders talk, that every woman had become a sort of Bismarck and St. Theresa combined, the moment she was politically the equal of man; while one might have thought, to hear others, that every woman had at that moment been bereft at one fell swoop of all good qualities, all shreds even of decency.

This was of course very confusing, especially as, on the one side as on the other, there was the ring of true conviction in every voice. It was so confusing, indeed, that I should speedily have fled the country, leaving my work undone, had I not found that it was only a small minority of the nation who held these extreme views. The great majority of those with whom I talked answered my questions in a much more sober fashion; the burden of what most of them said being, curiously enough, that, so far as politics were concerned, it really did not matter very much whether women had votes or not.

'As a rule, women vote here just as their husbands, fathers, or brothers vote,' I was informed. 'The comparative strength of our parties is therefore not very different now, that they have votes, from what it would be were they still voteless. The only party that has really profited by the introduction of female suffrage is the Socialists.'

That the Socialists have profited and considerably is a point on which all parties agree. As an old Finnish gentleman, who knows his fellow-countrywomen well, remarked: 'Why it should be thus I cannot say, but the women who do not vote as their men folk vote, vote almost invariably Socialist.'

Nor is it only with regard to the comparative strength of parties that most Finlanders seem to think it is a matter of no importance whether women have votes or not. When I began to make inquiries with regard to the character of the laws framed

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri since women have had a hand in framing them, I was told again and again that it was precisely the same as it would have been had they had no hand in the matter. This is a subject on which suffragists and anti-suffragists are quite at one. Bill that has been passed since universal suffrage for men and women came into force would have been passed, just as it stands, even though never a woman had a vote,' I was told by many men and not a few women. 'The fact of women having votes and sitting in Parliament has so far had no influence whatever on our legislation.' Even the Liquor Bill would have been every whit as drastic and quixotically unpractical as it was, it seems, had there not been a woman M.P. or a woman voter in the grand duchy. The Finnish Parliament has undoubtedly passed some useful measures, measures for the protection of women and children among others, but every one of them would have been passed had universal suffrage been limited to men. So at least I was assured by politicians belonging to the most diverse parties:

Even when I asked whether the standard of merit among the members of the Finnish Parliament had been raised or lowered by the introduction of female suffrage, many of those whom I asked maintained that it had been neither raised nor lowered; that the average member of Parliament elected under male-cumfemale universal suffrage was, in fact, not one whit either better or worse, more intelligent or more stupid, than the average member elected under male universal suffrage would have been. This indeed in towns seems to be the popular opinion, the opinion of the man in the street and his wife. In country districts, however, a different view prevails: there the fact of women having votes is a subject of cavilling, while the presence of women in Parliament is looked on decidedly askance. Although in Finland Parliament has opened its doors to women, communal councils, it must be noted, still keep theirs securely barred against them. And I shall not easily forget the look of horror a sturdy old farmer cast at me, when I once suggested that there would soon be women in the council of which he was the chairman.

'Heaven forbid!' he cried, in evident consternation. 'Surely it will never come to that. It is bad enough having them in the Diet.'

Political experts seem to be more in sympathy with country-folk than with townsfolk in their views with regard to women's influence in politics. For even those among them who argued that women could do no harm in Parliament, were careful to add, I noticed, 'so long as there are not too many of them there!' It is a noteworthy fact that, during the whole time I was in Finland, I never met a serious politician who would admit that the

standard of merit among the Finnish M.P.s had been raised by the introduction of female suffrage, while I met quite a fair number who maintained that it had been lowered. Some of them indeed spoke very regretfully, and rather bitterly on the subject. Under the new system Parliament wields but little influence and inspires no respect at all, they hold. And this is for them a heart-breaking matter; for they, as all Finns, are fervent patriots; and it cuts them to the quick to see, as they have never a doubt in their minds but that they do see, Finland's

National Diet being shorn of all prestige.

These are pessimists, of course, and as such take no doubt too gloomy a view of the working of the suffragist experiment. Still it cannot be denied that curious scenes have occurred in the Finnish Parliament since the new electoral system came into force: women have lost their heads there and men their tempers. with results that have led to rejoicing among the profane. One lady M.P. appeared in the House in a divided skirt; another, in something that looked uncommonly like a dressing-gown; while a male M.P. insisted on sitting there without ever a coat to his back. Some seemed to think that as members of Parliament their mission in life was to flout the conventional, and set public opinion at defiance; others that, as they could make laws, they need not obey them, the laws of society at any rate. These are perhaps matters of no great importance, mere vagaries; still, it must be admitted that men and women with even the average amount of common-sense do not indulge in vagaries in Parliament. We can hardly wonder, therefore, if they who do are regarded with lively indignation by Finlanders who have the dignity of their Diet at heart.

It must not be forgotten, however, that it is only a small minority of the Finnish M.P.s who have ever indulged in vagaries; and among those who have, there have always been men as well as women. It must not be forgotten either that the day female suffrage came into force, universal suffrage came into force also. It would therefore be manifestly unfair to argue that, if the average M.P. is, under the new régime, a less dignified personage than under the old, it is solely because women have votes. The presence of women in the Finnish Parliament has not raised the tone there; that all parties This Diet certainly does not impress outsiders as being a specially decorous or lofty-minded assembly. Its members do not demean themselves towards one another with more courtesy or kindliness than the members of other Parliaments: they do not show more levelheadedness, more disinterestedness, more selfcontrol. On the contrary, it is unfortunately a case of less rather than more. In no other Parliament in which I have ever been, Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and I have been in Balkan Parliaments, do the members show such a marked lack of consideration for one another's susceptibilities. That this should be the state of things in the only Parliament in which women sit is lamentable, of course; none the less to lay on them the blame of it would be not only unjust, but absurd, considering how very few of them there are there.

The most interesting question with regard to the working of female suffrage in Finland is the very question for which it is most difficult to obtain an answer—an answer worth having, I mean, of course. When the Suffrage Law has been in force six-and-fifty years instead of only six, the Finlanders as a nation may perhaps be able to decide whether the average Finnish woman is the better or the worse for having a vote; although that they will, even then, it would be rash to say. For, before they can decide, they will have to agree as to what they mean by the better and what by the worse; and this a very shrewd old Finnish lady assured me they never would be able to do.

That certain changes have come over many women since they have had votes no one denies: many women are much more active now than they were before 1906, more aggressive, more bent on being to the fore in everything. Finnish servant-maids for instance are many of them quite different now from what they were when I first knew them, some ten years ago. very way they set down their feet is different, the very way they hold their heads. The sound of their voices, too, is changed and, oddly enough, even the expression of their faces. become personages now that they have a voice in the management of the affairs of the nation, and they know it. They show, too, that they know it, which is only natural, although perhaps not always wise. Still, personally, I have always found them kindly and attentive, and now they are very friendly. But then I am English, and they approve of the English. They, as others of their kind, hold, indeed, that had Dame Nature been quite up to her work she would have placed England and Finland side by side, so that they might have thrown in their lot together.

Of their mistresses, as a rule, they do not approve, I am inclined to think; and that their mistresses do not approve of them I know. I have heard from mistresses, indeed, such heartrending stories of all that they have to suffer at the hands of their maids, that the wonder to me is that they have maids—I would send for Chinamen. It is not even a case of all-round equality now, according to them, but rather of the superiority of the servers to the served. I have been assured in all seriousness that it is not their own convenience that mistresses have now to consult in making their household arrangements, but solely the convenience of their servants. Should a Socialist orator announce that he will

give an address at the hour when most families dine, most families must either change their hour or go without dinner, if their maids have a fancy for hearing him. A mistress may be left 'to do' for herself for the day together, if any debate of special interest to those who are supposed 'to do' for her is being held in Parliament. Before fixing a day for a friend to pay her a visit she must always take counsel with her cook, lest this visit should clash with some visit the cook intends paying, or some entertainment to which she has arranged to go. Woe betide the lady who, through a mistaken sense of duty, should venture to remonstrate, were her maid, out for the day, to remain out also for the night. She would be denounced as a reactionary, an interferer with the liberty of the subject. What would happen were she to suggest that her maid should wear a cap, I cannot imagine; for mistresses, audacious enough for that, hardly exist in Finland, judging by the tales I heard some of them tell.

As it is with servant-maids, so is it with many other women, I was assured by not a few of those with whom I spoke on the subject when in Finland. A certain section of town-dwelling women, they maintained, especially women of the lower middle class, have undoubtedly had their heads a little turned since they have had votes, with the result that they have developed the most overweening notions of themselves and their own importance in the world. This may be, and probably is, a mere passing phase; but, while it lasts, it does not make for harmony, it seems. Now that these women are politically the equals of men they are convinced that morally, intellectually, socially, and in all other ways they are vastly their superiors; they are convinced, too, that they themselves have no superiors of any sort. With many of them, however, the signs of sex-antagonism are even more marked than the signs of class; with some few of them, indeed, it is a case of 'l'homme voilà l'ennemi!' This, too, extraordinary though it may seem, although these very women pride themselves on being so manlike, and more often than not vote for male parliamentary candidates!

Nor is it only lower-class women who have suffered in this way; women of all classes have suffered, although, of course, by no means all the women of any class, women in the country as well as in towns, although few in the country and many in the towns. This I was told again and again. So far as I could make out from what I heard, Finnish women of the first order—quite irrespective of class—well-balanced women, women who have heads on their shoulders and know how to use them, are under the new régime just as they were under the old. It is not among them that the change has been wrought by the possession of votes, but among women of the second order, the half-educated rather than the

uneducated. Uuluckily, however, the average woman, and it is she with whom we are concerned, is not of the first order but of the second. For every woman there is of the first order there are, in all countries alike, many, many women of the second. Thus, from the national standpoint, it is a more serious matter that women of the second order should have their heads turned than women of the first. And that many women of the second order have had their heads a little turned, since female suffrage came into force, almost every common-sense Finnish man, I know, and most of the common-sense Finnish women, stoutly maintain.

According to these men and women-some of them live in towns, others in the country, and they belong to the most diverse categories—since female suffrage came into force a fairly large section of town-dwelling Finnish women have lost considerably in what one might, perhaps, call 'sweet reasonableness.' They are now so keenly alive to their own rights that they are apt to forget that other folk have rights, and that they themselves have duties. They have lost in balance, too: politics are for them now the be-all and end-all of life; they have not a thought in their heads for any other subject, excepting perhaps feminism. never quite happy unless at a public meeting, listening to political discourses, or, better still, delivering them. No political question is too complex for them to deal with in their present frame of mind; they will produce at a moment's notice solutions for problems which have baffled statesmen for years; and will start off on lecturing-tours at the slightest provocation. They are much more eager to be out in the world than in their own houses; home-life, indeed, has lost all attraction for them. They would rather work the whole day in an office than spend a couple of hours setting their own houses in order. Some of them go so far as to hold that it better befits them, as full-blown citizens, to issue railway tickets, or sort letters, than to tend their own babies. Babies, indeed, are rather at a discount among them in this our day. The opinion is gaining ground rapidly that, when once they are born, it is for the State to look after them, not their own mothers. is not due to any burden-shirking propensities on the part of these mothers; for the very women who clamour most to be relieved of the burden of child-tending and housekeeping, are most eager to bear other burdens, especially other folk's burdens. There is no outside work they will not do and for starvation wages-nay, for no wages at all-even though they themselves be half-starved. They are practically never at rest: early and late they are on the go, to the detriment, of course, of their nerves, and through them of their health, and much besides.

Now, rightly or wrongly, they who talk in this strain hold that the change which has undoubtedly come over many Finnish women, since they have had votes, is due chiefly, although, of course, not solely, to their having votes. They hold, too, that the change is a change for the worse all round, one fraught with danger to the whole community. And they point to recent Finnish statistics as proof that, in speaking thus, they are speaking advisedly.

Madness is increasing everywhere, but nowhere quite so rapidly as in Finland, it seems. Local authorities there are at their wits' end; for, let them build as they may, they have always more lunatics to house than they can house. In 1905 only twenty-four women committed suicide in Finland; in 1908, the last year for which reports are issued, the number was fifty-one, an increase of 112 per cent. in three years. In those same years the increase among men was only 27 per cent. On the 1st of January 1905, there were 363 women in the Finnish prisons; on the same day in 1908 there were 505, an increase of 39 per cent. In 1906, 1178 women were condemned in the first instance; in 1908, 1698, an increase of 44 per cent. in two years. In this case the increase was, significantly enough, confined in a great measure to towns.

These statistics, it must be admitted, are none too cheerful reading: even ardent suffragists must find in them surely cause for heart-searching, and ardent patriots cause for anxiety. Still, whether they in themselves are, as these Finnish informers of mine hold, proof that female suffrage is working woe, not weal, in the land, it is not for me to say. I may, however, venture to relate two little personal experiences I had while in Finland, as they have a certain bearing on this point, it seems to me.

I paid a visit one day to a Poor-law official, who was responsible for the relief of the destitute in a huge district, and I had not been with him five minutes before he exclaimed: 'Oh, if only our ladies here would give a little less thought to politics,

and a little more thought to the poor!"

He was feeling depressed, and I did not wonder; for he had set his heart on bringing about a great reform in Poor-law administration, and every newspaper in the country was telling him roundly that his new system, the Elberfeld, would not do at all for Finland, as he would never find helpers enough there to work it. Women with votes have more important business on hand, it seems, than looking after the poor. There are fourteen of them in the Finnish Diet, but only one on the Helsingfors Poor Board.

Another day I met a Finnish lady, who straightway began to lavish on me much warm sympathy. She was very sorry for me, more sorry than she could say, she assured me; and when, after waiting in vain for her to tell me, I ventured to ask why, she looked at me in amazement.

'Because of the painful position you are in, subject as you are to such cruel oppression,' she replied.

I had not an idea in my head as to what she was driving at, but when I said so she seemed incredulous.

'You must know that you Englishwomen are sorely oppressed,' she remarked rather tartly.

'Oppressed by whom?' I inquired, not, as she seemed to think, through sheer perversity, but because I really did not know.

'By men, of course,' she retorted indignantly.

I tried to explain that I did not think Englishwomen were oppressed, and that I was quite sure I myself was not oppressed; whereupon she waxed wrathful, and took to rating me soundly. Of course we were all oppressed, she declared; and it was sheer folly, nay worse, on my part to try to conceal the fact. She had, she said, just been reading a terrible account—blood-curdling it must have been from the tone in which she spoke—of what Englishwomen have to endure at the hands of men; and she believed it every word. And she believes it still, no doubt, in spite of all my protestations, to which, indeed, nothing would induce her even to listen.

It would, of course, be grossly unfair to regard this lady as a typical Finnish lady of the new régime. Still, the same odd lack of sweet reasonableness which marks her, marks also a fair number of her kind, in this our day. And it was not thus ten years ago.

EDITH SELLERS.

# THE PREVALENCE OF DENTAL CARIES IN MODERN CIVILISED COMMUNITIES

THERE is no doubt at all that decay of the teeth is far more prevalent in England to-day than it was a hundred and fifty years ago, also in the United States of America and in all British Colonies. In varying degrees continental nations tell the same tale. Furthermore, it is an undoubted and indisputable fact that this disease tends to encourage sequelæ in the form of gastric intestinal disorders. By diminishing the power of mastication it lessens the possibility of healthy nutrition. It not only shortens the life, while lessening the usefulness of the individual, but it strikes at the root of national prosperity by decreasing the power of reproduction of the species. Lastly, there is no doubt that this already prevalent disease is increasing daily, and while it has already advanced sufficiently to constitute a grave danger to public health, it promises at no far-off date to multiply its evils to such an extent that, if allowed to proceed unchecked, its ultimate consequences may prove disastrous to the well-being of civilised man.

These facts are all recognised in those branches of surgery and medicine which are brought into immediate contact with the problem, but the person whom they will ultimately affect is 'the man in the street,' and therefore it appears to me that no time should be lost in laying the facts of the case before him. It is for this reason I am seeking publication in a lay periodical rather

than in the pages of a professional journal.

The problem of the prevention of dental caries will be more than half solved when we have discovered the circumstances which favour its existence. With this object I have for some time been engaged in examining skulls of various races and periods (both at the Museum of the College of Surgeons and at the Natural History Museum), with a view to discover the degree to which various peoples have been subject to the disease, and then, by examining their environment and habits, to deduce the predisposing causes of caries, the avoidance of which may lead to the prevention of the disease.

scientific world.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri Thirty years ago W. Jennings Milles and myself, at the International Medical Congress of 1881, suggested for the first time that dental caries was not (as was then the almost universally accepted theory) a simple chemical change, but that it was due to the activity of an invading army of micro-organisms. We showed the various forms of cocci and bacilli in the dentinal tubes. We showed that the annihilation of the micro-organisms arrested the process. We cultivated the special varieties in Agar-agar, and exposed dental tissues to their activity, and so produced artificial caries. The theory, notwithstanding the unanimous opposition of American and German authorities, received prompt support from the Tomes, father and son, and was soon accepted in England. Professor Koch, who visited our laboratory specially to see the specimens, said he was convinced we were right, and carried the theory back to Berlin, where it was enthusiastically received by his young American disciple, afterwards Professor Miller. latter investigator worked out the subject in every detail, and it is now the established theory, and received throughout the

This *résumé* of the establishment of the present accepted pathology of dental caries appeared to me a necessary preamble to a full discussion of the prevention of the disease.

If the disease be due to an invasion, there are obviously two elements essential to any scheme of prevention: (1) The limitation of the activity of the invading force, and (2) the strengthening of the natural defences.

Under the first head may be included considerations of cleanliness and uncleanliness of the individual to be protected, and all the precautions that a human being can take during his or her lifetime to frustrate the pernicious activity of these microorganisms.

It must be taken for granted that the enemy will be always at our gates; nothing we can do can materially affect the numbers or the vigour of the micro-organic army; the rapidity of their proliferation is such that the idea of rendering such a cavity as the mouth surgically aseptic for more than a few minutes could only occur to the untrained mind of a vendor of a patent mouth-wash and his equally uninformed clientèle. The only thing possible in this direction is, by the adoption of certain precautions, to limit their access to the dental tissues.

The presence of decaying food in the interstices between the teeth, or in the pits or crannies of their surfaces, for any length of time, affords the micro-organisms an opportunity, by the production of acids, to roughen and eventually destroy the surface of enamel, the integrity of which is essential to the safety of the tooth; therefore the cleansing of those parts after every meal is

an important factor in the scheme of prevention. We shall see later on how such habits have a large influence on the immunity of some modern races of mankind.

The wise choice of foodstuffs which by their consistency tend to assist the cleansing process has been shown by many observers (of late very forcibly by Dr. Sim Wallace) to exercise a very beneficial protective influence.

It is necessary, therefore, to examine minutely the environment, habits, and dietary of various races of mankind, past and present, and to consider them in relation to the comparative immunity or liability of those races. In this connexion I shall be able to give the results of a fairly extensive examination of skulls and to compare my own observations with those of other explorers.

In connexion with the question of cleanliness and the nature of the food, as affecting the teeth of the individual during his lifetime, I have carefully compared the conditions of races inhabiting the hot belt of the earth with those in temperate and frigid zones, as both the habits of personal cleanliness and the dietary are profoundly affected by the temperature of the habitat.

This consideration of the temperature-environment will also enter largely into the discussion of the effects of civilisation, as the tendency of highly civilised races is to inhabit temperate climates.

The effects of variation of the constituents of water used for food upon the prevalence of caries has been, I think, altogether overrated, and in this matter Magitôt came to a similar conclusion.

The second great division of my subject—namely, the strengthening of the natural defences of the teeth themselves—is, I am convinced, by far the more important of the two.

In this connexion it is generally believed that, once the enamel covering of a tooth is completely formed, nothing the individual can do will alter its composition. This at least is the present view of dental anatomists; and though my friend Dr. Galippe endeavoured to show that the composition of the enamel of teeth does vary during life, his theory has not found many adherents. I shall assume, for the purposes of this essay, that it does not do so.

The actual chemical composition of the tissue called enamel is at present regarded by most authorities as being devoid of organic matter. I have, however, never felt convinced by the experiments upon which Mr. Charles Tomes has rested this opinion. The supposition that a structure like the enamel organ is capable of forming, as part of the living body, a sort of mineral crystalline substance, consisting of a mass of lime-salts and a trace of water, seems to me incredible. There is no analogy in nature (for the

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri tissue is almost universally held to be the result of a process of conversion of protoplasmic substance, and not of excretion).

Further researches upon this point are being actively prosecuted, but pending their publication I must rest content with expressing my own inability to accept the prevailing theory, whether considered from the point of view of its likelihood or of the convincing nature of the experiments upon which it rests.

Whatever may be the outcome of immediate research touching the development and chemical constitution of enamel, for the uses of my present argument it will be necessary to accept the prevailing teaching. I shall therefore assume that the enamel cap, once formed, does not undergo any further change in its composition; that is to say, that the sufficiency or insufficiency of the defences of the tooth is finally and for life decided when once the enamel covering is formed.

Now this enamel covering, in the case of the permanent teeth, is formed before they erupt. Its strength or weakness does not depend upon any habits acquired during infancy, much less during childhood. The sources of weakness which may at any moment of severe attack lay bare the citadel to the invading bacterial host are active largely before birth, and, it may safely be said, entirely before the cessation of maternal nourishment (with the exception of the aberrant third molar).

It will, therefore, be of the first importance, in prosecuting this inquiry, to examine and compare the varying conditions affecting maternal nourishment in races specially immune and those specially liable to the disease.

The rough outcome of a somewhat extended investigation of the teeth of various races at various periods, of which details will be given presently, amounts to this: that in almost exact proportion to the degree of their civilisation, or, in other words, their artificial life, peoples are liable to caries. The wild races, whatever climate they inhabit, or at whatever period of the world's history they flourished, are always practically immune. moderate degree of artificiality or civilisation results in a moderate degree of liability to caries. An excessive artificiality or civilisation, such as is found in the environment of successful existing races, is attended by a wholesale and deplorable dominance of the disease.

I shall endeavour to show in detail the elements connected with the nurture of our infants that contribute to this dental degeneracy, but in this introductory section I content myself with summing them up as an unconsciously organised attempt to defy the great laws of survival of the fittest in the physical Throughout wild nature it is the law that the fittest should survive in their environment. It is also the law, often overlooked, that the mother kind should always act more for the welfare of its offspring than of itself. Civilisation has altered the field of battle: physical excellence is no longer the goal; the ultracivilised race forgets the future, and concentrates all its enormous powers upon the present moment. Its genius is possibly misdirected, but one undoubted result is the rampant triumph of the army of micro-organic invasion, and, as I hope to show, dental caries is one of the first of their great victories.

### THE INFLUENCE OF CLEANLINESS

If we consider the relative liability of certain teeth and certain parts of those teeth to dental caries, we shall be forced to the conclusion that the habit of cleaning the teeth after meals plays an important part in protecting organs the enamel covering of which is not sufficiently well developed to defy all attacks.

The first molars are no doubt more liable than any other teeth, the lower incisors are certainly least attacked of all. I will

consider the various teeth seriatim.

The first molars. The fact that these teeth are erupted between the ages of five and seven years, and are exposed to the bacterial attack during a period when the ordinary disturbances of childhood tend to favour bacterial activity, when, moreover, the other permanent teeth are hidden altogether from the enemy, may be allowed its due importance, but there are other factors.

The habit of cleaning or even rinsing the mouth after meals is extremely rare during childhood, so that these early comers are not only exposed to severe attacks, but, owing to the carelessness or ignorance of parents and nurses, and the indifference of the

children themselves, they are feebly, if at all, defended.

The extensive ravages of caries in the milk-teeth are another illustration. The fact that these teeth are presently to be lost leads to a short-sighted neglect of their condition. The permanent nature of the first molar is often not recognised.

The second molars and the premolars are much less liable than

the first molar.

The upper incisors are much more liable than the lower incisors. How does this fact bear upon the question of cleanliness?

I believe the answer is this: that the lower incisors are generally in actual contact with their neighbours from the cutting edge to the gum margin, whereas the molars, premolars, and upper front teeth, although normally in contact at the cutting edge, permit, because of their shape, an interval at the gum edge. This wedge-shaped space, after a meal, is filled with debris of food, and, if this is not removed by rinsing the mouth or some such cleaning process, fermentation follows, and the enamel is

roughened. This change once begun, it becomes increasingly difficult to clean the interspaces. It is certainly in these interspaces that caries most often commences, or in the deep pits and crannies to be found in the molar surfaces.

The third molars. These teeth, which are seldom erupted before puberty, should show a high percentage of exemption, but they certainly do not do so. What explanation is there as regards cleanliness?

The third molars (or wisdom teeth) are disappearing. They are often deformed macroscopically and microscopically, but there is another reason for their liability. The actual process of eruption of a wisdom tooth is infinitely slower than that of any other tooth. Instead of appearing like a mushroom in the night it may take many months to finally assume its position. During all this time, while part of the tooth is exposed and the rest covered by a loose flap of gum tissue, the parts so covered, while inaccessible to any tooth-brush or mouthwash, yet offer splendid cover for the undisturbable activity of the enemy. It is generally the posterior portions of the third molars which suffer.

The light thrown upon the cleanliness question by an examination of the skulls of various races, whose habits in this respect are ascertainable, is valuable, but it plainly shows that this aspect of the case is only one important factor, and by no means the whole explanation of immunity and liability.

I will now discuss in this connexion the dental condition of races inhabiting the hot belt of the earth, races not completely Europeanised, but retaining their ancestral religions and customs—native Africans, native Indians, and native Chinese, as illustrated by skulls in our museums.

The African native enjoys practical immunity. The native Indian has on an average one carious tooth for every two skulls (almost immunity). The Chinese, one carious tooth to thirty skulls (practical immunity).

The habits of these peoples as regards tooth-cleaning are very striking.

The African native is taught from early childhood to clean his teeth with small slips of wood, and rinse his mouth freely after every meal. H. M. Stanley notes these habits, as do many other explorers. I have myself obtained minute accounts from negro women, who had no idea why I was asking of these customs, which amount almost to a religion. They frequently use some form of fine powder (generally ashes of some sort, or salt), but the rinsing after meals is never omitted.

The Indian native is equally careful in this matter. I have made very minute inquiries into this. A very large employer

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of native labour in India has assured me, from extensive personal observation continued for many years, that the practice of rinsing after meals is universal among them. An Indian prince, who is a personal friend of mine, has assured me that the care from early childhood throughout life in this respect amounts almost to a religious rite in his country.

Quite recently my friend, Dr. Chundra Muthu, himself a native and a medical man, has fully corroborated the truth of the universal prevalence of postcibal rinsing, and has borne out to the full the practical immunity of native races so long as they are un-

Europeanised.

The habits of the Chinese natives in this matter I have obtained from Professor Arthur Keith, who assured me from personal observation that they always rinse their mouths after every meal.

These three races inhabit hot countries, which fact of itself tends to encourage habits of personal cleanliness. They are extremely careful about their teeth, and they are almost free from dental caries.

As soon as I reached this stage of my inquiry I felt that a case was almost made out for the toothbrush and the postcibal rinsing. To complete the case, however, I proceeded to examine series of skulls of the inhabitants of Arctic regions (Esquimaux), who never wash at all and never make any attempt to cleanse the oral cavity, fully expecting to find dental caries rampant. The native Esquimaux showed an average of one carious tooth in twenty-seven skulls (practical immunity). Therefore the dirtiest known inhabitants of the earth were as immune as the cleanest. This was a serious set-back to the triumphal progress of the theory of 'cleanliness' as the whole governing factor.

The examination of inhabitants of a temperate region who were uncontaminated by civilisation (Australian natives) again showed only seven carious teeth to twenty-two skulls, or seven carious in a possible 700 teeth. This too amounts to immunity.

I felt driven to the conclusion that, although cleanliness and protective measures observed during the life of the individual were potent to protect even imperfectly constituted teeth, there existed and had existed races whose teeth were so splendidly constituted that neglect, involving unmolested activity of the enemy, did not succeed in allowing them to break through the first line of defence.

Before leaving the question of cleanliness a word must be said about the conditions prevalent at the present time in ultracivilised communities. It is a question upon which it is extremely difficult to obtain reliable and far-reaching data, but as far as I have been able to obtain them they appear to suggest certain possibilities.

<sup>1</sup> Peary, The North Pole.

It appears from the innumerable reports which reach us from day to day from institutions of all sorts, that the teeth of ultracivilised communities are so liable to caries and so little protected, that the prevalence of the disease in modern Europe, America, and Australia has so increased during the last century that it has become, from being an almost negligible quantity, a serious menace to the health and usefulness of the advanced type of humanity. The skulls of Europeans of a century ago show a proportion of about one carious tooth per skull (one in a possible thirty-two). The reports from school and institution examinations of to-day show at least ten times as much.

The almost universal neglect of cleanliness is about equal in the two periods; the different results must, then, be due in some measure to a different degree of efficiency in the protecting armour.

## THE INTEGRITY OF THE ENAMEL COVERING

I shall now endeavour to show that influences exist which rob the tooth of its first line of defence, and, by diminishing the protective efficacy of the enamel covering, expose its tissues to the ravages of the micro-organic army of invasion to such an extent that without constant cleanliness, incessant vigilance, and curative treatment by experts, the most carefully selected and appropriate dietary which modern science can suggest is unavailing to hinder the rapid increase in the prevalence of dental caries.

Let us revert once more to the evidence of the great collections of skulls of all races and all periods which our museums offer for our inspection; but this time let us regard them, not from the point of view of any particular detail of habit or environment as affecting the individual during his lifetime, but rather in the light of the habits and environment of his parents, as contributing to the more or less efficient formation of his dental enamel.

All native races enjoy practical immunity, the Esquimaux, the Australian native, the Hindoo, the Kaffir.

All primitive races, from the Neanderthal type of man onwards, are practically in a state of dental perfection quite as complete as that enjoyed by the nearest of kin among the higher races of mammals. This immunity is as conspicuous in the graminivorous lake-dweller as in the partially carnivorous African native.

Regarded in the order of liability to caries, modern Europeans and colonists are in such a condition that it is not at all remarkable for reports of schools to show such an alarming proportion as 90 per cent. of sufferers. A hundred and fifty years ago similar

reports would, to judge from the skulls of that period, have shown probably not more than one-third of that number. The report of 5000 years ago would probably have disclosed

something approaching immunity.

The later Roman periods, when, under the influence of Christianity, burial began to supersede cremation, show a fair amount of mischief. John Mummery (Odonto. Tr., 1869-70) found forty-one out of 143 Roman skulls showing defective teeth, and in nineteen of these the disease was extensive. Mummery examined thirty-six Egyptian skulls,<sup>2</sup> of which fifteen showed caries, and of these eleven were extensively diseased.

My own observation of skulls in the Flinders Petrie and the Egyptian Exploration Fund collections suggests that there was considerable variation in this respect during different periods. Some predynastic skulls show no caries (but these are, of course, rather rare, and do not render any extended observation possible), but during the later dynasties the disease became more common, until it reached something like the figures suggested by Mummery.

Elliot Smith found, after an exhaustive observation of over 50,000 early Egyptian skulls, that the predynastic period (authorities differ about dates, but previous to 4000 years B.C. would be allowed by all) showed practical immunity. The early dynasties were similarly free from trouble, but about the time of the Pyramid builders there was a great change noticeable. Caries began to be very prevalent, especially among the upper classes, and out of 500 aristocratic skulls of this later period only fifty were quite free. To-day in England or America these figures would show an immunity far above the average.

I have already alluded to the immunity of the Indian native, but I have not pointed out the undoubted fact, to which Dr. Muthu bears testimony, that the more the native becomes Europeanised the more do his children approximate to our own

in this liability.

These facts seem all to point to one conclusion—namely, that civilisation brings in its train dental caries, which becomes more and more aggravated and widespread in proportion to the pitch of civilisation attained.

So far, then, it is evident that although cleanliness coupled with appropriate choice of foodstuffs and careful regular treatment may preserve naturally weak teeth, primitive and uncivilised races, although not enjoying all these safeguards, do not suffer and never have suffered from caries. Secondly, that coincidently with the advance of civilisation, and in proportion to the degree of that advance, caries is so increasingly common that the problem of dealing with it has now become a serious

<sup>2</sup> Period not mentioned.

social question. Something accompanies advanced civilisation which tends to render the teeth liable to the ravages of caries.

The enamel covering of the human teeth, except in the case of the wisdom teeth, is formed during the early years of infancy, and its perfection or imperfection is largely governed by the nature of the food digested during the first few years of life.

The evolution of modern man from his anthropomorphoid ancestors has been attended by a series of changes of diet which will possibly offer the key to the solution of this connexion between civilisation and caries. During the Homosimian age the animal depended for existence upon the efficiency of his masticatory apparatus. Animals unable to masticate the food available perished and left no descendants.

In what Sutherland calls the early precibicultural period, when primeval man lived by precarious hunting and fishing, and vegetable food was eaten raw, the physically unfit shared the universal fate of extinction. The introduction of cookery made matters easier for digestion by the alimentary tract, but still the jaws were large and the teeth perfect.

Up to this point all offspring were breast-fed, and mothers deficient either in the mammary function or the maternal instinct failed successfully to rear their offspring.

The next great advance of civilisation was the gradual perfection of cibiculture, the breeding of animal and vegetable food, and the obtaining of milk from cows and goats.

Sutherland divides the cibicultural period into the migratory (during which there was no change as regards maternal habits or the general immunity from caries) and the stationary, when man created for himself more or less abiding homes. This latter period he again divides into an earlier or neo-agricultural period, and a later agricultural period, extending to our own time.

In early times weakly children, the offspring of a mother incapable of feeding them and children of a dead mother, were destroyed; but later on the power to obtain milk from domestic animals rendered it more and more possible and increasingly common to preserve such children, and, consequently, to preserve and render more common in each succeeding generation mothers deficient in the mammary function. Thus in primitive races the mammary function and the maternal instinct were very high, whereas in advanced civilisations both of these all-important attributes tend to become lowered.

The feeding of the infant by hand or by the hireling mother makes the relegation of these duties easy, and, in those cases where the maternal instinct is feeble, attractive.

A similar change may even be observed in animals under domestication. In a wild state birds hatch their own chicks, but 'when man interferes' hens become divided into good and bad sitters.

I will now consider the different influence on tissue formation

of maternal breast milk and its substitutes.

First of all it must be remembered that the value of the milk supplied to the child depends, not upon the chemical constituents it contains, but upon their digestibility. Unless the milk is digested it is not of use, but rather the reverse. Infantile indigestion is a check to tissue formation.

The elements required in the milk are chiefly:

For growth and repair of tissue—Protein and mineral salts.

For the production and storage of heat—Fats.

For the production of energy-Sugar.

Proteins are present in milk in the form of casinogen and Carbohydrates are Fat is present as cream. lactalbumin.

present as milk sugar.

The mother's breast milk contains these elements in the proportions most suited to the infant's digestive powers, 'which must be kept employed but must not be overtaxed.' Proteins in cow's milk are not so digestible and often form heavy curds; hence protein indigestion is more common in bottle-fed than in breast-fed infants.

Breast milk varies in its constitution in the same women under the same conditions of life and diet from hour to hour. Even at a single nursing the milk at the beginning is often different from that at the close, so that the infant has not only

a meal but a series of courses (Sutherland).

The habits of the mother as regards exercise, diet and alcohol have a large influence on the character of the milk. Fresh cow's milk and oatmeal porridge are very good elements in the maternal diet, whereas highly spiced and seasoned dishes are correspondingly bad. Worry, anxiety and mental distress, and of course the specific taint and tubercle, have a prejudicial influence on the nutritive character of the milk.

Bottle-feeding has other dangers for the infant: the possibility of bacterial contamination from the cow itself, the hands of the person who milks it, and the bottle from which the infant

sucks.

Lastly, Sutherland points out that cooking has relieved mastication of one of its chief functions. The crowding of the teeth, which we so often witness nowadays, and which, by creating nooks and crannies very difficult to clean, favours the production of caries, may be traceable to a gradual reduction of tooth-space in the tooth-bearing portions of the maxilla and mandible, due to the gradual cessation of the need for mastication.

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One word must be said on heredity in the larger sense.

That the mother may, by accepting or neglecting her natural duties, in a great measure decide the dental efficiency of her offspring has, I trust, been made sufficiently obvious.

There is, however, a wider meaning to the word heredity. The child inherits from both parents, and every practical dentist knows families in which the mother, who, in her own case, has lost many or all of her teeth in early life, has reared offspring whose dental armature is excellent. This may by the superficial observer be attributed to the fact that the father has excellent teeth, but it may also be explained on the simpler hypothesis that the children have been properly nurtured.

All infants properly reared should have perfect teeth to start with, unless some general constitutional taint has rendered the whole economy incapable of perfect assimilation and tissue forma-The decay which is the result of neglect is an acquired characteristic, and cannot, therefore, be inherited. stitutional taint obviously does not come within the scope of the present inquiry, although it must not be forgotten in any list of contributory causes.

The great and increasing prevalence of dental caries among existing civilised races is due, as far as I can discover, and as I have endeavoured to show, mainly to imperfect calcification of the dental tissues, chiefly of the enamel.

This imperfect tissue formation in the modern infant is traceable to the general delegation on the part of the ultra-civilised mother of her natural duty of breast-feeding her own offspring. Whether this neglect arises from physical incapacity, laziness, frivolity, or a degraded vanity which refuses to imperil the symmetry of her figure, the result to the child is the same-it is left to the wet-nurse or, still worse, the artificial substitutes for maternal milk. Deprived at the start of the only ideal and perfect means of forming its tissues soundly and well, its teeth are so feebly formed that they fall an easy prey to the consequences of the lodgment of food, which only the minutest care can prevent.

Care, anxiety and worry, the inevitable concomitants of the strenuous life, urban and rural poverty and overcrowding, paralyse the mammary functions of the poorer classes and produce in their offspring the same weaknesses which the decay of the maternal instinct contrives for luxurious classes. teeth of the ultra-civilised infants are in an increasing degree imperfectly calcified in all classes of the community.

The evil consequences of maternal neglect do not end, however, with the weaning period. The same selfish and unnatural neglect which induced the pleasure-seeking or fad-following mother to evade and delegate her first great duty to mankind permits a second almost equal social and racial crime. The weaned child too often is left to the care of hirelings throughout childhood; its personal cleanliness and its food are left to the tender mercies of nurses drawn from a lower class, who may or may not be conscientious; and later on the matron of the school takes on the charge. At no stage in the child's life, from first to last, does it possess a mother in the true sense, and Nature is swift to revenge herself.

Of course such women should not bear children (indeed, frequently they evade even this duty), for in the maternal instinct they are inferior to any other female animals, past or present.

The after-feeding of the children of the poor in these artificial times is as bad, from want of power or want of sense, as that of the rich from want of interest. The 'silencer' between the baby lips, the diet of 'a bit of what we have,' largely gin, tell their own tale.

As things stand we must expect an ever-increasing degeneracy of the teeth, together with much other degeneracy, unless some mighty campaign of a far-reaching character can be organised to bring mothers back to perform the duties of motherhood as faithfully as the females in the rest of the animal world.

There remain to be considered the practical steps which can

be taken to protect what is left to us of teeth as a race.

Foremost I would place certain easily prescribed forms of cleanliness. This protection, although not necessary where the tooth formation is comparatively perfect, as in the wild animals and uncivilised man, is absolutely essential where, as at present, it is very generally imperfect.

This cleanliness I would divide into three forms:

The removal of centres of bacterial activity from the mouth, such as incurably septic and unfillable teeth at all ages, and septic roots, imperfect crowns and bridges, and other fixed substitutes in adult life.

The practice from early childhood of washing and rinsing the teeth after every meal, so that particles of food may not be able to lodge in the interspaces of the teeth.

The choice of such foods and methods of preparation as may be least likely to lodge, and may by their consistency themselves exercise a cleansing influence, by stimulating a flow of alkaline saliva.

THE REMOVAL OF SEPTIC FOCI AND CLEANSING THE TEETH

Bacterial energy is dependent upon the existence of convenient centres where proliferation may continue undisturbed, and whence a constant supply of micro-organisms may be continuously outpoured.

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The presence of cavities of decay in the neighbourhood of sound teeth affords efficient centres. Thus the presence in a child's mouth of decaying and food-holding temporary teeth favours the commencement of decay in the remaining teeth. An untreated approximal cavity in one tooth is invariably followed by decay in the neighbouring surface. It is therefore essential to the health of the teeth (and incidentally that of the child) that the temporary teeth should be cleaned after meals and at night, and any incipient cavities treated and filled.

The idea prevalent in many nurseries that the milk teeth do not matter, because they will soon be lost, should be generally stamped out. They are, for some years, all the child has to masticate with, and disease in one is apt to lead to disease in all

the rest.

The treatment need be neither painful nor tedious. If the little cavity is lightly cleared, treated with an antiseptic, and filled with an amalgam, the bacterial centre is broken up.

When the permanent series begin to show themselves the benefit of this early care becomes increasingly obvious. A few foci of bacterial mischief may form the starting-point of disease in the first, or six-year-old molars, and the premolars. immense preponderance of caries in the four first molars is partly traceable to this cause.

It is a curious fact in this connexion that in all the skulls of primitive races that I have examined (and my experience in this matter is fully endorsed by Professor Elliot Smith), where decay does exist in the molar region it is generally in the third molar (or wisdom tooth), but in civilised races the first, or sixyear-old molar, is by far the most affected tooth.

In a case of perfect calcification and regular development in man the wisdom tooth suffers from a severe natural handicap in this respect when compared with any other member of the series, even the first molar. Because in man the third molar has already commenced the series of changes which are supposed to end in its eventual loss, its eruption is slower and later than is the case, for instance, in the great apes. During this slow period of eruption, as I have already pointed out, the anterior part of the crown is exposed, while the posterior part is buried under an ill-fitting hood of gum. In the space so formed anything small may collect and an advantageous nidus for bacteria exists. No other tooth suffers from a similar disadvantage, unless perhaps the upper laterals, which many naturalists have doomed to a similar fate (and which, by the way, are very liable to decay). Therefore in early races this tooth is most liable to disease. When, with the spread of civilisation, caries becomes increasingly common, from the many causes enumerated above, the first molar is exposed to all the risks attendant upon the presence of decaying and untreated milk teeth in its immediate neighbourhood, and soon assumes the unenviable distinction of being by far the most frequent victim to disease.

The first step in prevention of caries is, therefore, scrupulous care by mothers and nurses of the temporary set, constant supervision and cleaning, especially after meals and at night, and

regular and frequent inspection by a competent dentist.

When the permanent set appears similar precautions must be rigorously adopted. Everyone should clean his or her teeth and rinse the mouth carefully every night, and if possible, as the Kaffir, the native Indian, and the Chinese, rinse out the mouth after each meal. I know of a case of an elderly lady with perfect teeth who considered this so important that if she could not rinse her mouth afterwards she did not take the meal.

Incurably septic and unfillable teeth, temporary or permanent, should be removed.

In adult life foci are often afforded by gold crowns and fixed bridges which are not microscopically accurate in their adjustment. It must not be forgotten that the enemy is microscopic, and that the tiniest crack or crevice is all he needs.

Few dentists have not had occasion to remove apparently satisfactory bridgework to reveal, in the hidden surfaces now laid bare, areas of septic putridity sufficient to account for the gravest consequences.

#### SUMMARY

Dental caries is more prevalent among English-speaking and other civilised races at the present time than it has ever been in the world's history.

It is at least ten times as common in England and America to-day as it was even 150 years ago.

Its prevalence is in direct proportion to the degree of civilisation, and has always been so at all times of the world's history.

Its prevalence is increasing rapidly, and, unless something is done to check its progress, is likely to increase in what might almost be called geometrical progression.

It is due principally to the widespread and spreading system of artificial feeding of infants, rendered possible by the contrivances of civilised ingenuity and favoured by the decay of the maternal instinct and the mammary function, resulting in imperfect infant tissue formation and, consequently, poorly formed

It might be arrested by a return to the simpler life in the relations of mother and child.

It may be largely checked, and even prevented, by:

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1. Scrupulous cleanliness, as indicated above, during the milk dentition.

- 2. Scrupulous cleanliness during adult life, both in the matter of cleansing the healthy parts after meals and in the matter of removal of unhealthy and septic parts which defy cleansing.
- 3. By the wise selection of foodstuffs 3 which modern science has shown to favour a cleanly state.

The return to the simpler life on the part of the modern mother is unlikely on any useful scale. It is certainly impossible to reform the unnatural mother; neither is it possible to confine the divine right of motherhood to natural mothers.

Probably generation after generation will present a larger proportion of female human beings who have thrown off the glorious responsibilities and divine rights of the mother-sex in a vain endeavour to live a male life. Evolution has decided that progress lies in the direction of greater divergency of sexual attributes. Any attempt on the part of males or females to return to a condition of hermaphroditism, via the obliteration of sexual distinctions, will, happily for the world's future, be answered by the simple but complete reply of extinction.

To hope for the elimination of worry and anxiety from modern life is, of course, unpractical and useless Utopianism. This is, as Disraeli said, an age 'which has mistaken comfort for civilisation.'

The only remedy lies, therefore (in the event of the failure of an appeal to modern mothers), in a full, complete obedience to the laws of the gospel of cleanliness, as I have endeavoured to suggest above.

Should this be possible and successful it will be an additional proof that, after all, cleanliness is next to godliness.

#### ARTHUR S. UNDERWOOD.

<sup>3</sup> The length to which this article has already run renders a discussion of this side of the matter out of the question. It must suffice to point out that the dietary of primitive and wild races always possessed the following qualities. It was not too easy of mastication, it was sapid or tasty, and it was accompanied by raw vegetables and fruit, in brief it provoked a free flow of saliva and thus provided a potent alkaline fluid capable of neutralising the destructive acids, it was always taken to satisfy hunger. This question has been very completely dealt with in a recent work by Prof. Pickerill, of Otago.

### OLYMPIC ATHLETES

Plato was a man of the world to his finger-tips as well as a poet and a philosopher, and I have no doubt whatever that he was always ready to discuss the Olympic games with his disciples whenever the celebration of a new Olympiad became the topic of the day and the chances of the local team of athletes were being discussed at every street-corner. The pose of the modern artist, who wishes to be regarded as a personage apart from his fellow-creatures, and for that reason holds aloof from all such crowd-compelling affairs as a Test match, a championship contest at the National Sporting Club, or a meeting of the London Athletic Club, would certainly have kindled Plato's smile of urbane contempt—the same with which he so often confuted the hasty generalisation of a popular sophist. The Greeks had all the redeeming vices of modernity; for example, they were great gamblers, and there must have been a prodigious deal of betting on the Olympic Games. Tons of money, to use a modern expression, would be lost on the type of runner mentioned in a Greek epigram, who ran in a race with five others and came in seventh, the sixth place being taken by his trainer, whose pacemaking and cries of 'Keep it up!' were labour wasted. In all probability Plato refrained from betting himself (he knew that wagers are the arguments of fools), but I am sure he would not have frowned on a well-born pupil who had 'made a book' on the games.

The notion that the Greek philosophers were rather like certain modern headmasters, whose morals stick out all over them like the candy-peel in a cake, is part and parcel of the classical myth which has done so much to dehumanise the most human of the peoples of antiquity. The ancient Greeks were rich in all the social vices; I cordially agree with Mr. Hilaire Belloc's assertion that no race has ever produced such an infinite variety of exuberant blackguardism. But they were incapable of the hypocrisies, half intellectual and half emotional, which vex the modern world. It is impossible, to take specific instances, to translate the terms 'priggishness' and 'artistic temperament' into the language of Hellas. Plato was a great artist and he

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri knew it. But he was well content to remain a man income men a man of the world among men of the world, and so interest himself in whatsoever interested the society which found him interesting. So that I for one should not be in the least surprised (though greatly gratified) if a fragment of a dialogue, bearing his name and discussing the cult of the Olympic athlete, were presently discovered in the dust-heaps of Oxyrhynchus or some other waste-paper basket of oblivion. It might begin as follows:

. . . when they caught sight of Socrates, several of the young men who were exercising in the meadow ran up and laid hold of him, laughing merrily and debating among themselves what ransom he should be required to pay for his freedom. But Socrates, smiling at them, replied that he would pay neither gold nor silver for the right to depart, nor would he have given any of the cast-iron coins of the Lacedaemonians if he had chanced to possess them; for he was glad to be their prisoner in such wise, inasmuch as he remembered the saying of Alcaeus that young hands, when laid on the old, remove a portion of the burden of age, silently and invisibly. To which one of them made answer that he would seek in vain this or any other boon or privilege that an old man might lawfully claim, but he and the others were not unwilling to deal with him as their equal in youthfulness, though their superior in wisdom. Whereat Socrates nodded three times, and it seemed that a treaty of peace had been agreed upon, for they released him at once and stood round in a close circle waiting for him to speak. But he was silent for some time, following with eager eyes the swift movements of a tall and beautiful youth who was practising the start for a short race (in which it is better perhaps to lose ground at the end than at the beginning), in accordance with the advice of his trainer. Charicles, for such was his name, soon joined the circle, and was presented to Socrates as one who could not fail, the gods being gracious, to win a wreath at the Olympic games. His trainer followed in haste, and cast a long cloak about his naked form, and then, kneeling down as a man might before the statue of some demi-god, rubbed his calves briskly while the conversation proceeded.

Socrates. It is the short-distance contest, Charicles, that you intend to undertake for the glory of the violet-crowned city, dear to the Goddess?

CHARICLES. With whose help, Socrates, I hope not to be disgraced.

Socrates. But I have been told you are the fleetest of foot in Athens, that you beat the best of the Corinthian runners in the two hundred yards by the whole length of your arm two

years as o. Surely, then, the crown is already yours, and we may as well begin to make a breach in the walls for you to enter on your return to the sound of flutes and cymbals.

CHARICLES. Though I have long arms, yet I may not be the first to touch the goal. The envoys from Syracuse say that their city is sending a wonderful runner who is swifter than a wind out of the sea, when Poseidon is angry. Having seen me run the course and timed me with their pulse-beats, they are willing to wager all their possessions, even to the creaking sandals, that he wins by a spear's length.

Socrates. If we are to believe the Western men, there are

too many wonders in the West.

CHARICLES. Yet in this case the boasts of the Syracusans may be justified by the event. Their team won three contests at the last Olympic Games. Of a truth, my friends, I fear to be beaten and disgraced before the eyes of all Greece.

Socrates. If it be the will of the Gods-may it not be so !you will be beaten, my dear Charicles. But how can you be

disgraced, if you do your best?

CHARICLES. I shall certainly do my best. Yet, if the Syracusan outruns me, people will think me disgraced, and it will be necessary to enter the city after nightfall on my return.

Socrates. But we, your friends, shall not think so; to all

of us Charicles will be Charicles, whatever has happened.

CHARICLES. Nevertheless, the majority will regard me as disgraced, and in Athens the majority rules.

Socrates. Tell me, Charicles, was Aristides worthy at all

times of the love and confidence of the Athenians?

CHARICLES. He was at all times their just and unselfish friend and counsellor.

Socrates. Yet there was a time when the majority considered him a disgraced person and banished him from the city. It would seem, then, that we cannot depend on the judgment of the majority in such matters.

CHARICLES. You speak wisely, Socrates. For all that, I shall feel myself disgraced if the Syracusan runs away from me when

we turn the corner and see the goal gleaming in front.

Socrates. So perhaps did Atalanta when she was beaten by a divine stratagem, yet she found a greater and more merciful But tell me-if a man were set to run against another on horseback, would his defeat be disgraceful?

CHARICLES. Not at all, seeing that the Gods have given a

greater measure of speed to the four-footed creature.

Socrates. If you were to beat me in a foot-race, Charicles, as you most certainly would, should I then be disgraced?

CHARICLES. Not so, Socrates, for the Gods thought strength

would be a more useful gift to you than speed, and visd meetter than either.

Socrates. Then it would seem that defeat in a foot-race does not involve disgrace if the victor owes his victory to some gift of the Gods?

CHARICLES. It is impossible to think differently.

Socrates. And whether the gift be great or small, so long as it enables the possessor thereof to gain the victory, matters not at all?

CHARICLES. How could it be otherwise?

Socrates. Again, if the runner in a foot-race is beaten not by speed, but by trickery, by two runners from the same city wilfully shutting him out at the finish, or by one behind him stepping on his ankle, would he be disgraced?

CHARICLES. I see you are not only a philosopher, Socrates, but also well acquainted with the trickery of the Western athletes. In the instances you mention the honest runner would not be disgraced at all, but those who tricked him would be guilty of dishonourable conduct.

Socrates. Then do you not see, O worthy son of a worthy father, that if the Syracusan wins, either by trickery or by virtue of the greater speed given to him by the Gods, you must not think yourself disgraced?

CHARICLES. You have convinced me, Socrates, and I thank you for it. Nevertheless, if I lose the race, it will be expedient to re-enter the city after nightfall to avoid the jeers of the mob. The Syracusan, if he fails, will not dare to return home; those who lost money on him would see to it that he was soundly cudgelled or even hung up by the thumbs. And I have heard that a wrestler from Sybaris, when beaten in the final bout, sold himself into slavery rather than risk a state reception at his home-coming.

Socrates. There are cities beyond the seas where men speak Greek, but think and act like barbarians! In Athens, however, there are very many Athenians. Return after nightfall if you will, should you be unfortunate in your contest, but your friends will escort you to your good father's house with torches and the music of flutes, rejoicing that their well-beloved Charicles . . .

Here let the imaginary fragment, hastily Englished, come to an end. Documentary evidence tells us very little about the Olympic athletes themselves, though the ceremonial of the games is sufficiently known. An impressionist's description of the games from the holiday-maker's point of view would be a joyous thing, but we have it not—and if we had it, there would be so many flowered, fluctuating robes therein that the account of what was not only a gathering of champion athletes but also a famous

fir word by unsuitable for the instruction of schoolboys. Inasmuch as the Greeks were unable to take the time of the winner of a race, stop-watches not being invented, there could be no Olympic 'records,' and it would seem to follow that no progressive improvement in championship form, such as is the most striking feature in the history of latter-day track athletics, could possibly have taken place. The times for the two hundred yards at the ancient Olympic Games would certainly be very disappointing if we had them; cinder tracks and spiked shoes were then undreamed of, and sprinting on a course paved with blocks of marble must have been hard on the sprinter's naked feet even if, like the fists of the Greek boxers, they were carefully pickled and hardened for the occasion.

The physique of the Greek boxers and wrestlers is familiar to the students of ancient statuary. It is evidently an artificial mechanism of specially-developed muscles, which survives to-day in the ponderous persons of the Continental strong men who wrestle in the Graeco-Latin style. And the statues of throwers of the discus show that the technique of at least one 'field event' had been carefully developed on lines that to some extent subordinated effectiveness to grace—for the discus can be thrown further in the modern free style (which would have been regarded as barbarous and unfair by a spectator of 400 B.C.) than in the Greek style, which seems to have always remained a living tradition among the country-folk of Greece. As regards leaping, we are told of a long jump exceeding 40 feet (the modern record is 24 feet 111 inches) by an ancient Greek athlete. The use of dumb-bells enables a long-jumper to increase his average jump by a foot or so, but the tremendous distance mentioned could only have been attained by jumping down a slope (with the help of a spring-board possibly), after the fashion of the Scandinavian ski-jumpers. As for the ancient foot-races, it has been denied that the Greeks had the knack of sprinting. But some of the action-pictures on Greek vases make for the belief that they not only had sprinters, but also possessed athletes whose physique and action compare not unfavourably with those of the modern specialist. I have in mind a photograph of a vase which has a picture of five men finishing, each extending his arm to touch the pillar; there is not three yards between the first and the last of the five, all of whom have the stature, the long and powerful thigh-muscles, the raking stride, and the peculiar poise of head and body which are characteristic of the most effective type of the modern sprinter. Except for the complete absence of running costumes they might be a selection of the tall, thirteen-stone, American sprinters, who do so well in international short-distance races. On the whole, we are entitled to

believe that the ancient Greek athletes would have so we fine form under modern conditions. Also there is some vidence for believing that the evolution of the specialist-the flesh-and-blood mechanism artificially adapted to the fulfilment of a particular athletic task-had been carried some way, especially in the cities of Sicily and Magna Graecia (the 'America' of the stayat-home Athenian or Spartan), when the Olympic Games were at the height of their popularity as a racial festival. The tyrants of the West spared no expense in their efforts to win an Olympic crown by proxy. The Olympic athletes were, of course, professionals for the most part; during the long period of training they were maintained by the city which they were to represent, and if they won, they not only earned talents of gold and talents of silver, but remained pensioners of the State to the end of their lives. Statues were erected in their honour and a front place in the theatre was reserved for them. Nevertheless many intelligent Greeks deplored the honours paid to these men, who were useless in peace and almost always proved inefficient soldiers, constantly breaking down under the hardships of a campaign which their one-sided training had unfitted them to sustain.

In America the production of the specialist, the athlete who is half an acrobat, has been carried much further than was the case in the ancient world. The American team for Stockholm is about one hundred strong, and the cost of sending this portentous collection of prodigies in a specially-chartered steamship is defrayed, partly by public subscriptions and partly by Government subsidies. (Ours is the only Government which does not subsidise the national representatives at the Olympic games; a refreshing proof, in the opinion of most lovers of amateur sport, that British common-sense is still influential in high places.) There can be little doubt that the American athletes will win most of the track events and nearly all the field events at Stockholm. In the longer races, where an easy natural action and natural stamina count for more than artificial ability, the British contingent will more than hold its own. But such athletic 'freaks' as Ralph Rose, who is about 6 feet 5 inches in height and can put the weight nearly 50 feet, and G. F. Horine, who has jumped 6 feet 81 inches with the help of the gymnastic rollover, and others of less notoriety, are bound to score victories for the United States. Some of these men are semi-professionals; their social standing is by no means exalted, they have no visible or invisible means of self-support other than their athletic ability, and they generally hope to make an Olympic victory the steppingstone to a livelihood earned as a star professional, a trainer, a manager of some gymnasium, &c., &c. In America even university athletes (whose seats at the college training table are

practically cholarships for games) often become professionals. Individually, these men are tolerable enough; collectively, as a term representing a nation too eager to win at any cost, they are rather objectionable. The American team which took part in the Olympic Games of 1908 certainly did not distinguish itself as a company of sportsmen and gentlemen—much to the disgust of many American residents in London.

The points to bear in mind when the Stockholm results come in are: (1) that the antique ideal of beauty and effectiveness combined is not realised in the persons and methods of these lop-sided specialists; and (2) that our University and Public School athletes, for whom running or jumping is a πάρεργον, must not be accused of physical degeneracy because they are beaten in the contests for Olympic crowns. The public school athlete only practises track and field events two or three weeks before his school sports, which are generally held at a time when the interest in football is waning and cricket is already the subject of eager expectation. He does not worry about training at all, for everybody leads the simple life at a public school and takes plenty of open-air exercise as a matter of course. One or two spins with his rivals and a few hints from a master who is an Old Blue, and he is ready for his race. More often than not he enters for all the events (like the young Orestes in the Electra), and he may win more than one and take the inexpensive pot provided for the Victor Ludorum of that year. If he goes on to Oxford or Cambridge he may or may not specialise to some extent; even if he does so he will not abstain from cricket, football, hockey, and other sociable diversions. If, however, he is plunged forthwith into the strenuous life of the business man, his spiked shoes are seldom used any more. his natural ability wasted? Not a bit of it if his sprinting powers enable him to save fours in Saturday afternoon cricket or make fast dribbles down the wing at Association football; or even to catch the morning train to the city.

Our object is to produce a kind of general-purposes athlete who can find health and joie-de-vivre in a variety of sports. That, no doubt, was the authentic Hellenic ideal. But the American notion is to obtain, by means of eliminating trials and a prolonged course of special training, a small number of surprising experts. But it is only necessary to look over the records of this year's public school sports, to see that our wealth of innate athletic ability far exceeds that of the United States. With little training, and next to no coaching, mere lads run the quarter in less than 54 sec., the mile in less than 4 min. 45 sec., the hurdles in less than 17 sec.; in the jumps they beat 21 feet and 5 feet 6 inches. Put any of these school champions into

the power of an American trainer for two years, and he would make Olympic victors of them. Fortunately, the athletic system in vogue at the American universities would never be tolerated by young Englishmen, who prefer freedom to the meagre rewards of the specialist. Yet if one wishes to see and admire the Hellenic ideal of athletic grace and force combined it is to be found in our school playing-fields rather than in the Stadium at Stockholm. Ethnologists tell us that the ancient Greeks were essentially the same race as the Englishmen of yesterday. A study of Greek busts and statues confirms their assertion. In Paris and in London Mrs. Roger Watts has brought the Greek antiques to life again to the delight of many. But her ingenuity has been wasted if she only knew. For these Greek statues were alive all the time in the green meadows of our English gardens of youth. There you see the true Olympic athletes.

E. B. OSBORN.

# SOME STRATEGIC PROBLEMS OF THE EMPIRE

As long as men are men and States are States the question of limiting armaments will remain insoluble.—The German Imperial Chancellor, 30th of March 1911.

NATIONAL Defence is admittedly the first duty of Governments, and should be the first concern of every patriotic elector. We have recently, in the Morocco crisis, had a most important object-lesson in National Defence. But the stormy nature of recent party politics has diverted the attention of the electors and prevented them from grasping the full, or anything like the full, significance of that object-lesson. They appear to have already forgotten that during the Morocco crisis we were compelled to commit ourselves to a totally new military policy—namely, that of supporting France with our whole

military strength directly war breaks out.

This forgetfulness is most unfortunate, for the Morocco crisis is to us a warning of the very gravest import. It is a warning that if we intend, as we do intend, to preserve the balance of power with the necessary independence of France as its cornerstone, we may at any moment, and when least expecting it, be challenged to prove our words by deeds. It is a warning that to this end we must adjust our military system and our mobilisation arrangements to the European conditions of to-day. a warning to us to reconsider most carefully our whole military system from the point of view, not of party politics, but of a great national war, and to make that system a reality and not a sham. The word 'sham' is used advisedly; because our present Territorial system is not capable of performing those tasks which the nation believes it is capable of performing and for which alone it exists, and is therefore a sham and a delusion. This is well known to all soldiers: it has been openly proclaimed by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts: it is denied by none but a few political lawyers.

The farcical deficiencies of the Territorials in all the essentials that constitute an effective army have been so often placed before

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri the public in Parliament, on the platform, and in the Press that it is not intended in this short article to weary the reader by repeating the oft-told tale. One may take it for granted, as a matter of common knowledge. With the most patriotic zeal, but with insufficient numbers, inferior organisation, inferior training, inferior armament, inferior mobility, what chance could they possibly have against regular European troops? The solitary military apologist for the make-believe system, General Sir Ian Hamilton, has himself confessed that they would require to be in a superiority of three to one against continental troops. And such a superiority they can never have.

The whole question of Imperial Defence in the future has so far received most inadequate consideration from the politicians who rule our country. They will not face the reality of the matter because in the first place they fear the expense, and in the second place because they fear that by so doing they may have to face a little temporary unpopularity among a certain section of the electors. So it comes about that up to the present time there has never been a clear statement in Parliament as to the actual purpose for which our army exists. Hence the prevalent confusion of opinion on this subject. One of the strangest features, and the strongest proof, of the partial consideration of Imperial Defence by our rulers is that it has been based entirely on present conditions, whereas the governing factors in the matter are entirely future conditions. A startling instance of this shortsighted method was given to us last year by the publication of that curious and unfortunate book Compulsory Service by Lord Haldane and General Sir Ian Hamilton, in which the future strategical problems of the Empire were not even mentioned. But it is surely sufficiently plain to us all that in any consideration of the necessary strength and composition of our future army we must have regard to the time when that future army shall be in being and to the tasks with which it will be confronted, rather than to the ephemeral conditions of to-day. We require to look as far ahead as possible, as far ahead as Germany looked when framing her Naval Bill of 1900-from 1900 to 1916.

As regards compulsory service it will probably take four or five years at least before public opinion is sufficiently educated and aroused to bring about legal liability to national service. It will then take another ten years before a national army thus formed can become an efficient instrument of warfare—allowing for the time required to train officers and non-commissioned officers, to provide all the necessary services, to allow for the necessary experiments in mobilisation, &c. So that we find that it is the conditions, the probable or possible conditions, of fifteen years ahead, as far as they can

be foreseen, which are the governing factors in the question. Before we can form an opinion as to what kind of an army we want we must consider the kind of war, the biggest war, for which that army will be required. In other words, no judgment worth anything concerning Imperial Defence can be formed without at least some consideration of the strategical problems with which in the future (not merely to-day) the Empire will be faced, and by the necessities of which the strength and conditions of service of our army must be fixed. But this is exactly what Parliament has never been told. For what our military system exists, what the strategical problems are which must govern its strength and composition, what the tasks are which it must be capable of carrying out victoriously—all these essential things we are left to find out, to work out, for ourselves. A few reflections on these matters may therefore at this present time

perhaps not be out of place.

The great fact, the accomplished fact, to which we have now to adjust our Imperial strategy, our peace preparation for future wars, is that owing to the building of the great new trans-Continental railways, coupled with the wonderfully rapid rise of German naval power since 1900, we may have to conduct great and distant land wars with the ever-present menace of the German Navy hovering on our flank. With the great fleet which Germany already possesses, and with the still greater fleet which she will shortly possess—a fleet which will then be, as Sir Edward Grev put it, the strongest the world has ever seen—this fact becomes of supreme and dominating importance. ever be involved in a dispute with Russia over Afghanistan or Persia, or with Turkey over Egypt, the opportunity of Germany will arrive. At the crisis of any great struggle in which we may be engaged German armed intervention may take place, as so nearly happened, as would have happened during the war in South Africa had it not been for the then overwhelming strength of our fleet. If during such a struggle our navy, as it may have to do, shall have sent such powerful squadrons to distant seas as to render our Home Fleet only equal to the German Navy in the North Sea, such German intervention may be followed by a German naval victory, and that again be followed by invasion and conquest. That is the situation we have to face during the twentieth century. It is vain to attempt to ignore it. stern fact is there, plain for all men to see. Not all the optimistic speeches in the world can make it otherwise. It only remains for us regretfully to accept the fact as the chief new factor in our twentieth century strategy, and, while accepting this very unwelcome fact, equally to accept its two unavoidable conse-These are the absolute necessity of maintaining our Imperial Navy on a Two-Power, or two keels to one, standard, and of forming with as little delay as possible a national army on the principle of the legal liability of all to service.

A consideration of the four following strategical problems with any one of which the Empire may find itself face to face within the next fifteen years, and for which we should begin to prepare at once, will make it abundantly plain that we have no other alternative before us. How it is to be done, and how it is to

be financed, is for the Empire in Council to settle.

The only pathway to victory in modern warfare lies in foresight and preparation. This is the exact opposite to the hand-to-mouth practice of our politicians in the present day. We require, as I have said, to look far in advance and prepare for the future, as far ahead as Germany with her 1900 Navy Bill from 1900 to 1916. In this article a lesser period of fifteen years is taken, because if the Germans could look forward and prepare for sixteen years in advance surely no man can say that it is beyond British mental capacity to do the same for fifteen years in advance.

The chief strategic problems of the Empire, with any of which we may be confronted within the next fifteen years, can of course only be dealt with in the faintest outline in the present article. But in order to make the argument clear it may be as well at least to enunciate them. These problems may be called:

(1) The Russo-Indian problem.

(2) The Turco-Egyptian and Middle East problem.

(3) The Mastery of the Pacific problem.

(4) The French Alliance or Balance of Power problem. The writer is convinced that if everyone would include these four problems in his consideration of Imperial Defence, we should all arrive at the same general conclusion, confusion of opinions would disappear, and we should differ only on points of detail. This is the limited object of the present article.

## THE RUSSO-INDIAN PROBLEM

This is put first on the principle that the greater contains the less, and that a military system capable of dealing victoriously with this problem will be amply sufficient for all the others, including Home Defence. Russia is rapidly recovering from the effects of her war with Japan, and will shortly have completely recovered, and will indeed be stronger than ever. Then once more the Russo-Indian problem will present itself. Perhaps the plainest description of this problem is to be found in the remarkable speech of Field-Marshal Lord Roberts at the Mansion House, 1905, wherein he thus described the situation as regards India. (note-ten or fifteen years ahead).

It is in the East that we have become a great Continental Power, and taken upon ourselves the responsibilities of such a position, and it is upon the supposition of Russian aggression in Afghanistan that an inquiry into our military preparations for war may conveniently be based. inhospitable nature of that country would preclude either an invader's army coming from the north-west or the defender's army from the southeast venturing to any great distance from their respective bases without the help of railways. The construction of railways in such a country would undoubtedly be attended with considerable difficulties; but whatever the difficulties might be they would have to be faced and overcome if success is to be achieved. It follows, therefore, that at the point of contactthat is to say, on the area between the termini of the two railways-it would be necessary for us to oppose the Russians with at least as large a force as they could bring against us. Seeing, then, that Russia has been able to place and maintain half a million of men in Manchuria, a distance of between 5000 and 6000 miles from St. Petersburg, with only a single line of railway to work on, we cannot calculate on less than that number being placed in the fighting line south of the Oxus. The distance to the Oxus from the capital of Russia is not more than half the distance to Manchuria, while Russia would have the advantage of two distinct lines of railway for the transport of her troops and supplies-the one via the Caspian, which is complete as far as Kushk, less than 100 miles from Herat; the other via Orenburg and Tashkent, which will shortly be open to Turmez on the Oxus, only 400 miles from Cabul.

In the event, therefore, of a war with Russia in the direction of Afghanistan it is imperative that we should have at our disposal a force superior to that which could be brought against us; and this number should be, I think, independent of the contingent which the native army could provide; for that army, or its equivalent, would be needed to impress the frontier tribes and the Afghans, whose attitude will inevitably be more or less uncertain till they see which side is most likely to win, and are able to decide which side it would be most to their advantage to join.

Under our existing organisation we cannot calculate on being able to mobilise for a war on the Indian frontier more than about 200,000 British soldiers, after providing for the internal security of India, even if South Africa and our other colonial stations are left with no more than their normal garrisons—and this only by utilising every available infantryman of the Regular Army, England being left, as it was in the spring of 1900, without any regular troops, except a few regiments of cavalry, some batteries of horse and field artillery, and about 50,000 recruits, immature lads too young to be sent to India.

How, then, are the remaining 300,000 men to be provided, and how are enough men to be forthcoming month by month to replace casualties?

Thus said Lord Roberts after his long experience as Commanderin-Chief in India. Who then can deny the general truth of these conclusions?

What it therefore comes to is this. During the first year of war we shall have to place in the field 200,000 Regulars and 300,000 reformed and properly trained Territorials to make up the required 500,000 men. Then in addition it must be remembered that the annual wastage of civilised warfare, due to great battles like Liao-yang or Mukden, and to disease, etc., amounts

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri to at least 70 per cent. This is a military axiom. Therefore in order to keep 500,000 in the field we must be able to send out 70 per cent., or 350,000 more Territorials properly trained within the first year. We must also keep at home at least another 250,000 properly trained Territorials with a trained Territorial Reserve behind them, in order to guard against raids or invasion, to prevent panic, preserve order, and to serve as the necessary basis of security for our National Credit on which our industrial system so entirely depends. To sum up, we shall require to be able to mobilise 200,000 Regulars and 600,000 Territorials, with 300,000 Territorial Reservists behind them, for the solution of the Russo-Indian problem. How is this to be done?

We have at present a force of insufficiently trained Territorials at home, nominally 300,000 but really only 260,000, whose military value (owing to insufficient training) is so small that according to General Sir Ian Hamilton they would require to be in a superiority of three to one to enable them to contend with the Regular soldiers of a foreign Power. Only 260,000, and of such small military value! And that is the utmost limit of the obsolete voluntary system. Clearly that obsolete voluntary system cannot, and will not, be able to deal with the Russo-Indian problem. How is the required Territorial strength and

training to be obtained?

We have a population of 59,000,000 whites-45,000,000 in Great Britain, 14,000,000 in the Dominions. Is Great Britain to find the whole force wherewith to defend the Empire if she can, or will the Dominions guarantee their fair and proper share? On a basis of population the proportional share of the Dominions is, or soon will be, one-fourth, or contingents amounting in all to about 200,000 men. That is their fair share. That would leave Great Britain roughly about 700,000 Territorials to find.

This we could do by a further development of our present system; thus, (1) retain our Regular Army on its present voluntary basis as the first line garrison of the Empire: (2) compulsory drill (or Boy Scout training) at all schools, as in Japan: (3) legal liability to national service in the Territorial force. We could annually take 150,000 young men of twenty for one year with the colours, as recommended by the Royal Commission on the Auxiliary Forces, and then grant them furlough for three years, subject to such recall for annual training as the military authorities may deem necessary and sufficient. After their fourth year they could pass into the Territorial Reserve, liable to recall to the colours only when a national emergency is proclaimed by Parliament, such recall to be by annual contingents, the fifth year men first, the sixth year men next, and so on. This Territorial Army (in order to accord with the shrinkage of the world

due to steam, distances now being measured by days, not weeks as of old) should be liable to serve beyond the sea in any war with one of the Great Powers, whenever a national emergency shall be proclaimed by Act of Parliament.

Such a sufficient force would cost little more than our present utterly insufficient force. In ten years' time it would give us a Territorial Army of 600,000 properly trained men, with a Reserve of 900,000 trained men behind it liable to recall by annual contingents, if required.

This of course is only put forward as one way. It is the province of the military authorities to formulate the actual

scheme, as soon as the principle is accepted.

Whatever scheme of compulsory Territorial service be adopted one condition it must fulfil, which is that it shall be so arranged as to be plainly beneficial to the working classes. A year's service fulfils this condition. For as our normal unemployment is nowadays from 400,000 to 500,000 men, it is clear that by taking 150,000 young men off the overcrowded labour market each year we should confer a benefit on labour. It would be equivalent to offering to find continuous State employment for 150,000 men each year, and thus annually reducing the surplus of labour by that number.

The Dominions on a somewhat similar system could in ten years provide Territorial contingents amounting to 200,000 men, with a Reserve of 300,000 trained men behind them.

It is useless here to attempt to go into further details. The thing has manifestly got to be done somehow—that surely is plain to us all. How rests with the Empire in Council to settle. It is clearly within our power. Only the determined National will to organise for victory is required. And a statesman to give the lead.

#### II

THE TURCO-EGYPTIAN AND MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM.

This problem is one which is only just now beginning to make itself apparent as a consequence of the Hedjaz Railway to Mecca. It will become plainer as soon as the Taurus mountains shall have been tunnelled through for the Bagdad Railway, as is now in process of being done, and the short branch line from Tel Habesh to Aleppo shall have been completed, for there will then be a clear railway route from Berlin, Vienna, and Constantinople to Mecca, passing close to our Egyptian frontier. For practical purposes of preparation we may consider this as done. Be it always remembered that we are looking ten or fifteen years ahead, a necessary preliminary for victory in modern national warfare.

We all recollect the dispute with Turkey a short time ago

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri about the question of the boundary stones of the Egyptian frontier. Turkey at the time could do nothing, as her railway was not complete. But as soon as it is complete she will be able to concentrate her whole strength for war either on her northern or on her southern frontier. If a similar dispute should arise in the future—and who can say that it will not?—things will therefore be very different. With a line of railway from Constantinople passing close to our frontier, and with Germany-Austria helping financially and guaranteeing peace in her European territories, Turkey will be able to mass there a very large force. How large will depend upon how many troops she may require to keep order elsewhere, but probably 300,000 to 500,000 would be a moderate estimate. We saw what the modern Turkish army, as reformed and trained by General von der Goltz, could do in the campaign against Greece of 1897 and the battle of Pharsalia. She can nominally mobilise 1,500,000 men. If a serious dispute arose Turkey might well be urged on by German diplomacy and finance to aggressive action, with Egypt as her promised prize, and with the prospect of German intervention in the background. The new Bagdad Railway and the consequent extension of German interest and influence in Turkey complicates and accentuates the question. Such a Turkish attack on Egypt could now well be supported by Austro-German troops railed almost to the Egyptian frontier. From, for instance, Zerka on the Hedjaz Railway by Jerusalem and the old coast line of invasion is only about 250 miles to the Suez Canal, and a branch line of railway will probably in a few years bridge part, if not the whole, of that distance.

Such an attack on Egypt, if successful, would cut the Suez Canal, and thus the British Empire, in half. It is not a dream, but will shortly be a practical possibility. It is openly considered and discussed. As the well-known German publicist Professor Hans Delbrück recently wrote, while discussing a possible war between the British Empire and Germany: 'If other Powers come into play Germany might perhaps, in combination with the Turks, attack England in Egypt.' Or, as Dr. Rohrbach, in his book Die Bagdadbahn. says:

England can be attacked and mortally wounded by land in one place only—Egypt . . . and Egypt is a prize which would make it well worth while for Turkey to run the risk of taking her place on the side of Germany in a war with England.

What does this mean to us—this possibility of a German-Turkish attack on Egypt? It means, as in the Russo-Indian problem, that we must prepare to conduct a great and distant land war with the German Navy and Army hovering on our flank. It

means that we must have a navy, not only with a bare superiority of three or four Dreadnoughts over Germany, as some of our little-navy politicians have sometimes appeared to contemplate, but a navy capable of obtaining the command of the North Sea, and also of containing the Austrian navy, and of convoying our fleets of transports to Egypt. It means that we must be able, if necessary, to send to Egypt and maintain in the field as many troops as Lord Roberts estimated to be required for the Russo-Indian problem. Nothing less.

This is a great requirement, and might arise even if the Russo-Indian problem were non-existent. It is a requirement that we are at present totally unable to face. If, however, the Russo-Indian problem be provided for, then the Turco-Egyptian

problem will at the same time be provided for.

As regards the further complications which will be introduced into the question of the Middle East by the German Bagdad Railway and its extension into Persia, and the Russo-German agreement thereover: it is difficult as yet to foresee what shape they will take. We must, however, prepare for storms ahead, bearing in mind the following passage from the will of Peter the Great:

No occasion should be spared to provoke war with Persia, to hasten its decay, to advance to the Persian Gulf.

Russia does not forget. If the German-Russo-Persian question should lead eventually, as it may, to armed intervention of the Powers, we shall need as great an army to oppose Russia there as we shall in the Russo-Indian problem. Once again, can the Dominions guarantee one quarter? Can they even guarantee one-fifth?

#### III

THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC, OR YELLOW PERIL PROBLEM

The mastery of the Pacific is a most difficult and ungracious subject to touch, but nevertheless it is a question which we cannot shirk. Japan is our ally, our welcome and honoured ally, and long may that alliance last. But our gallant allies would themselves be the first to admit that every sane nation, every sane statesman, every sane elector must recognise the ephemeral and kaleidoscopic nature of political groupings or alliances as a truth undeniably proved by universal history. In the light of history all alliances have been but temporary, durable only so long as the temporary interests of the two contracting nations remained the same. So long and not longer. The longer our alliance with Japan shall last the better pleased we shall be. But how long will it last? And what then? Who can tell? In ourselves only can we trust.

In the Pacific we have responsibilities to the Empire, to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand which we are bound to look in the face. If there is one thing nearer than anything else to the hearts of our brethren in Australia it is the resolute determination that, come what may, Australia shall remain a White Australia. This determination we cannot ignore, nor refuse to back up by the force, potential or actual, of our navy, without breaking up the Empire. Our brethren see the future commercial and military expansion of the Mongolian race, with uninhabited North Australia offering a tempting field thereunto. They see a Yellow Peril which they are arming and training themselves to meet if it should unfortunately ever become necessary. Hardly less vividly does the same peril loom before the eyes of our brethren in New Zealand and Pacific Canada. The warlike qualities and power of Japan, so recently and heroically proved to a wondering world, become of vast significance to them.

The United States of America are also vitally interested, as has been so ably shown in that remarkable book The Valor of Ignorance by Homer Lea. In that interesting study of the question as it stands to-day the British Empire is regarded as a negligible quantity, because Australasia is not yet powerful enough and because the British fleet is tied to Home waters. The question is regarded as one entirely between the United States and Japan. A truly humiliating position for us. A negligible quantity in a question so nearly affecting the Anglo-Saxon race the British Empire cannot consent to remain.

The only way in which we can in this matter discharge our duty to the Empire is by restoring to our navy its strategic freedom to act in force in distant seas. We require to this end an Imperial Navy prepared for the double task of sending a fleet to Australian waters if required equal to that of Japan, and of retaining at the same time in Home waters a fleet equal to that of Germany in case of intervention. Behind this Imperial Navy we require a national army capable of defeating any invasion, for otherwise (according to the Naval Note by the First Sea Lord in Compulsory Service) we shall have to keep tied to Home waters a fleet double that of Germany. If we do not build up to such a two-power, or two keels to one, standard, we shall prove ourselves false to the Empire and to the Anglo-Saxon race.

A national army capable of dealing victoriously with the Russo-Indian problem will be capable of all that is required for the mastery of the Pacific problem by restoring to our navy its

strategic freedom to act in the Pacific.

In addition it is to be earnestly desired on both sides that the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, the British Empire and the United States, shall as soon as possible be united, not

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only by a treaty of arbitration, but by a distinct naval understanding, followed by a distinct alliance, for the preservation of the *status quo* in the Pacific, to our mutual advantage and security.

As regards the necessary Imperial Navy built up to the two-keels-to-one standard, so necessary for Western Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, can the Dominions guarantee their proper proportion on a basis of population, one-fourth, or even one-fifth? For the burden will become shortly almost too great for the Mother Country to bear alone.

### IV

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE OR BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE PROBLEM

This is not, like the three previously outlined problems, a problem of the future ten or fifteen years ahead, but it is one of to-day. It demands, therefore, to be dealt with by the forces that we at present possess, not by our future forces. If, however, the solution should not be forced upon us till our future forces are in being, the question will be immensely simplified. The fearless independence of action of France is at present the cornerstone of the balance of power on the Continent. If this independence and potential force of action should once go, if France should be once more beaten to the ground by Germany, then there will be nothing left to prevent Germany doing practically what she pleases in Europe.

It is well known that as things stand at present France would hardly care to face single-handed another conflict with Germany. And Russia cannot effectively intervene till the thirtieth day of war, by which time Germany hopes to have dealt a smashing blow at the French resistance. How then can France obtain the requisite aid in time? There remains the entente with the British Empire. Why should this entente not be turned into a regular alliance, by which we should gain the French navy to ensure with us the command of the Mediterranean against the Austrian and Italian fleets? Because, as everyone knows, it is not worth the while of France to risk drawing upon herself the onslaught of the superior German armies, unless we can guarantee a reinforcement on land sufficient to give her a reasonable prospect of successful resistance till Russia has time to come to the rescue and the British navy to apply its pressure of commerce prevention. This is believed to be 160,000 men to be delivered on the north-eastern coast of France within a fortnight of the declaration of war, in time to take part in the great opening battle The actual requirements of France are, of course, known only to our military authorities, but the above number is

believed to be an approximation—to be followed, doubtless, by more troops later on. Until we can give such a certain guarantee of adequate support on land, an actual alliance, adding the French navy to ours, appears an impossibility. Can we give such a guarantee?

Here comes in the real illuminating value to the public of the Naval Note by the First Sea Lord in Compulsory Service. If invasion by Germany is, as therein stated, an impossibility under the present relative strength of the two navies (ours being at the present moment nearly as two to one), then all such extra caution as that so often referred to in Parliament, whereby the Government will keep a large proportion of our striking force of 160,000 Regulars at home till the Territorials shall have received sufficient training, becomes uncalled for and detrimental. long as our navy is twice as strong in Home waters as that of Germany, we can afford to pin our whole faith on the navy alone as our security against invasion, and prepare to throw boldly the whole of our striking force of 160,000 men on to the French shore, say at Calais-Dunkirk, within a fortnight of the declaration of war. It will require carefully prepared and perfect mobilisation and transport arrangements, but that is a task well within the capacity of our general staff if our Government will allow the money.

As soon as all such arrangements are complete and have been tested we can give the required guarantee, and presumably obtain the required alliance. That is to say, if we take the doctrine of the Naval Note as our basis of action and prepare to make the best and boldest use of the military forces that we at present possess.

When our future national army shall be actually 'in being,' and of a strength sufficient to deal victoriously with the Russo-Indian problem, it will be a great and controlling factor in the balance of power in Europe, and will render our alliance to be sought by all. It will thus be a great guarantee of European peace, and a certain security for our national credit and industrial system.

As before observed, no official statement has ever been made in Parliament clearly defining for what our army actually exists. But a consideration of the four previously outlined problems and of the striking power of the great new trans-continental railways enables us to answer the question for ourselves. The answer is that the task of our Imperial Army is to defend the British Empire, including India, against any possible attack, and that in order to be able victoriously to perform this task it must be of a strength sufficient to place and maintain in the field half a million properly trained men.

As regards our Imperial Navy, its task is to obtain command of the ocean and protect every part of the Empire, and in order to be able to perform this task it requires to be of a strength equal to that of Germany and Japan, or any other Power, and therefore a 'two-keels-to-one' standard of shipbuilding is absolutely necessary. Not speeches but ships.

To some it may at first sight appear as if these demands of our Imperial Defence are excessive. But consideration of the strategic results of the great new trans-continental railways, which have altered everything, will show that these demands are the minimum consistent with security. Anything less may mean defeat, an enormous war indemnity, and perhaps the

disruption of the Empire.

In fifty years' time the Dominions will have a white population of 50,000,000. If we can keep the Empire together till it is thus populated, all will be well. But meantime, of this generation must bear the burden of defence manfully, as our fathers did before us. The burden will, however, undoubtedly press more and more heavily upon us; and it may be at once admitted that it can only be successfully borne if the Dominions will undertake their fair share in the common defence. They have already a white population larger than that of Great Britain at the time of the Seven Years' War, when she maintained

120 ships of the line in commission, besides those in reserve, manned by 70,000 seamen trained and hardened by five years of constant warfare afloat, and flushed with victory. (Mahan.)

But do the Dominions maintain such a fleet?

We cannot doubt but that the Dominions will do their proportionate share some day. But when? Can Great Britain and the Dominions be roused to adjust their efforts to their necessities in time? We cannot be sure of fifteen years', or even ten years', grace. And it takes ten years to form an army. The following table will make plain the danger of delay:

A Table of Delay and its Results.

First Year of Re-organisation of our Imperial Forces	First Year of Reliability in a War with a Great Power
1912	1922
1916	1926
1920	1930

No taxation without representation, no provision of armed forces without a voice in the policy which directs those forces, is a cardinal axiom of Anglo-Saxon liberty. Therefore a necessary preliminary is, as proposed once more by Sir Joseph Ward.

representative Imperial Council for Foreign Policy and Defence. It is not too much to ask that such, or at least the beginning of such, shall be the practical outcome of the next Imperial Conference. We do not need to wait for a perfect scheme. Such has never been our Anglo-Saxon method. We shall be satisfied with an illogical workable beginning, which can be improved. A beginning only is required. Difficulties can be improved away afterwards as they make themselves apparent.

As regards Great Britain, is it too much to hope that Imperial Defence may be lifted out of the disputes of party politics? Each party, as is well known, fears to tell the nation the truth as to our necessities lest the other party should denounce them as alarmists and obtain a party advantage. Before the next Imperial Conference, can we not hope that the leaders of both parties will take their courage in their hands, and agree and unite together to tell the nate—the truth simultaneously. It must be by both parties. Surely such an effort is not beyond their patriotism? Such is our hope.

But hope must not blind us to our present dangerous state of unpreparedness. It cannot be too clearly stated, or too often repeated, that to attempt to deal with the problems of Imperial Defence with nothing behind our regular army except our present 260,000 insufficiently trained Territorials is to choose defeat. Inadequate preparation for war is the most certain and quickest method of producing war. Therefore the so-called economists are the real war party. In modern warfare between great nationsin-arms the forces brought into play are so enormous, and for their efficient action demand such thorough and long-continued preparation beforehand, that the result of the war may almost be said to be determined before the outbreak of the war by the superior or inferior preparations of the two belligerents. It follows that a nation may prepare, as it chooses, either for victory or for defeat; and, further, a nation may spend a great deal of money in preparing for defeat, because its rulers, either from lack of foresight or from party exigencies, grudge spending quite To prepare for defeat by false economy is the worst and most wildly extravagant form of national finance, because the payment for defeat must be in the end many times greater than the payment for the preparations required for victory.

A Great Power cannot escape adequate payment for National Defence. It is not a matter of what we choose to pay. It is a matter of what we must pay, either now in the form of adequate preparation for victory, or later in the form of a war indemnity

for defeat.

Let us consider for one moment this question of preparing to war indemnity. If we are defeated it is highly improbable

that we, the supposed richest nation on the earth, shall be let off with a lesser indemnity than 800,000,000l. or so, which will more than double our National Debt. This will mean an annual charge in our Budget of about 30,000,000l., more or less, as our annual payment for defeat. It is well to remember this little fact when considering the financial aspect of Imperial Defence.

If a loan is required, let it be an Imperial Defence loan now in order to prepare for victory, rather than a loan later on to

enable us to pay a war indemnity.

Our choice is before us—either to prepare adequately on a twentieth-century scale for victory, or for defeat and an enormous war indemnity. Let us hesitate no longer, but choose victory, with all its consequences of personal service and financial effort. It is the duty of the State, of the Empire in Council, to settle, as liberty-loving John Locke put it gong ago, 'How far injuries from without are to be vindicated, and . A top to employ all the force of all the members when there shall be need.' The need is now. It is the only way to preserve peace.

STEWART L. MURRAY.

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